Daily Report

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PPSh Policies, Electoral Candidates Criticized

AU1403212191 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Mar 91 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "The Country's Future Needs New People in the People's Assembly"]

[Text] The nearer the 31 March election day draws, more new questions requiring answers crop up every hour and every day. These answers must be provided without delay or hesitation. To put it bluntly, people—Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] members among them—are asking: Whom will I vote for? This question arises when the PPSh's candidates for deputies have already been announced for some time. Let us not forget that many events have taken place since the days when these candidates were announced. A presidential council and a new government have been created. The state's diplomatic activity has acquired new dynamism. There are "new things" every day. The opposition parties are also in incessant activity. Less experienced or unknown politicians, ideologists, and activists are appearing at rallies, on platforms, and in the party and national newspapers. "Classic" personalities are not very evident, but they unfortunately still hold their places in the lists of candidates announced by the PPSh. People have rightly withdrawn their votes from some of them, saying, "I will not vote for so-and-so;" "My vote is for the PPSh, but not for that candidate who has been presented to us." Should one say that members of the PPSh and its activists should put their heads together to persuade people not to equate parties with specific individuals? This appeal is as comical as it is stale. The people have raised and trained splendid sons and daughters who love Albania with all their heart. Their eyes sparkle and their heads are clear: they have passed serious tests in their workplaces, and enjoy the admiration and respect of the people for their characters as people and citizens, intellectuals and cadres, and dignified and undaunted warriors in defense of the people's interests. The people know them well, even though they today belong to the "domain" of an institution, enterprise, or cooperative, and certain officials may not recognize the "scientific work" they do in these fields. The people want genuine tribunes, not cowards and bureaucrats. The people want brave and wise representatives, and not armchair sprawlers who beat their brains wondering how to grab undeserved privileges for themselves and their children or relatives. The seats in the People's Assembly belong to the people, not the heirs of certain houses who belong to the so-called nomenklatura, and who think they are doing what they call a professional job when they leaf through files to look for candidates. The people want deputies who will not sleep day or night, and who will not rest on their laurels and boast about acts of glory and heroism in the past. They want deputies who will know realistically know how to employ young people and all citizens, and not those who bury their heads in the sand like ostriches when they see thousands of Albanians in flight, heedless of all the laws. The people and PPSh members themselves have put a name to representatives of this kind. Either involuntarily or through their incompetence, they have harmed the people and the party; therefore, the people, with their legitimate rights as masters of this country say to them: The future of Albania now needs new people in the People's Assembly! They want those who are up to acting on the PPSh's electoral program! There are thousands of such people among the people and in the party, and it is therefore not difficult to find 250.

Faced with this situation and this reality, the people themselves will undoubtedly give their verdict directly on each candidate. Whoever compiles the lists of candidates, they can only be signed and sealed by the people, the voters. This makes it more than necessary for the lists to coincide with the people's wishes.

Throughout its life, the PPSh has dissociated itself from and struggled against negative phenomena. The results of this struggle, however—because of formalism, routine, euphoria, megalomania, etc.—have not been up to standard, as time has shown. Sentimentalism toward individuals has often won the day, even above the vital interests of the people and Albania. Jobs, positions, responsibilities, and offices are nobody's private estate. They belong to the people, and only the people. The people and they alone have them in their gift, to grant them without asking about anything but their own sacred interests and those of mother Albania. If the people are an infallible teacher, let their voice today be heeded more. Today or never. The people are infallible because they can never play electoral or democratic games at the expense of their own sweat and blood, the peace and security of their own lives, and Albania's freedom and independence. Anybody else may err, but not the people, ever.

May the will of the people be done, the people who have turned their eyes toward the inspirer and farsighted leader of democracy in Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia!

Turkish Envoy Again Denies Embassy Opening

AU1403214991 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Interview with Turkish Ambassador Teoman Surenkok by unidentified reporter in Tirana on 14 March—recorded, Surenkok in English with superimposed Albanian translation]

[Text] Turkish Ambassador Teoman Surenkok gave an interview a few days ago on the radio and television. A meeting of ambassadors of various states accredited to our country was held in Tirana yesterday. We went to the Turkish Embassy today to talk with the Turkish ambassador and doyen of the diplomatic corps in our country.

[Reporter] Mr. Ambassador, what problems did you discuss, and what conclusions did you reach?

[Surenkok] First, I would like to thank you in the name of my colleagues in the diplomatic corps and on my own

behalf for the interest you have shown in learning the views of the diplomatic corps on this issue.

Last week, at the request of the Foreign Ministry and the Democratic Party, as doyen of the diplomatic corps I denied on television the rumors in circulation claiming that the embassies will be opened to accept persons wishing to take refuge. A few days later, representatives of the Republican Party told me that, in spite of this announcement, reports were still spreading that the embassies will open on 15 March. They asked me whether this was true or not. I gave them the same answer and told them unambiguously that there can be no question of opening the embassies, not only on 15 March, but on any date. They told me that they thought the same, and that they said that they would issue an declaration. They asked my permission to include what I had said in their statement. I agreed, and the declaration was issued. Because the rumors still did not stop, the heads of diplomatic missions were invited to a consultative discussion yesterday evening with Deputy Foreign Minister Sokrat Plaka.

It was decided there that I would again appear as doyen of the diplomatic corps to issue an appeal to the friendly Albanian people, not only on television, but on the radio, and in the government and opposition press, in other words in all the media. As I said before, you must all know the unconditional truth. There is no question of opening the embassies for people who wish to seek refuge. Such behavior is, first of all, against the basic principles and interstate regulations that govern the status of embassies. Embassies may admit citizens of the country in which they are situated only on normal business. This includes consular services of all kinds relating to the relevant documents and obtaining information of all kinds concerning the country the embassy represents. Participation in an embassy's social activity is also welcomed. With these exceptions, it is impossible to admit people into embassies for other reasons, still less when this involves illegal and violent acts. This would cause grave difficulties for embassies in carrying out their duties, which could be summed up as conducting relations at all costs of relations with the country in which the embassy is situated, the basic task of diplomatic missions.

In our view, the Albanian people's most important duty at this time is to abandon efforts to leave the country, to prepare for the imminent multiparty elections in a mood of peace, cooperation, and trust, and to succeed in accomplishing this highly important civil duty. We are ready to give all the assistance we can to help the Albanian people to overcome the difficulties they are encountering in this transition period. I convey to you all my most sincere greetings. Thank you.

PPSh, Other Parties Hold Electoral Meetings

AU1403211691

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1900 GMT on 14 March devotes a total of 10 minutes to reports of electoral campaign meetings of political parties.

The Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] is reported to have organized an aktiv in Bulqize on the economic and social aspects of the party's electoral program. "PPSh Central Committee Secretary Comrade Xhelil Gjoni analyzed this program, pointing out that it considers new developments in the country's economic and social life. He stressed the need to stabilize the economy through work, gradually introducing economic reforms."

The Democratic Party [PDSh] is reported to have held a "national electoral aktiv" in the Opera and Ballet Theater in Tirana on 14 March. Eduard Selami, member of the Managing Commission, is reported as asking those present "to hold one minute's silence in memory of the martyrs of democracy." In a recording of part of his speech, Selami states: "We have witnessed the dramatic mass flight of our brothers from their country, an extraordinary social phenomenon that can only be solved by the realization of democracy as fast as possible, as the first and decisive step toward national salvation. We have the opportunity to make up for lost time." He also speaks on "the breathtaking achievements of democracy in recent months." A speaker (name indistinct) is reported as stating that "The PDSh's program relies on private property and the dispersal of state property. In the countryside, he said, we favor the privatization of the land and its purchase and sale but not to foreign persons and institutions. We also favor obtaining foreign aid and credits. This economic program is the only alternative." Another speaker (name indistinct) is reported as stating: "Our party is now a real opposition, and in the short time of its existence has spread throughout the country with about 100,000 members."

The Republican Party is reported as having organized a meeting to announce its electoral candidates for Tirana District.

"Specialists and agricultural workers" are reported to have organized a meeting at the Fier Agricultural Station to create a branch of the Agrarian Party in the district, at which a speaker stated that "The Agrarian Party will work for a radical transformation, restructuring, and modernization of agriculture, with the aim of moving toward a market economy as soon as possible."

A branch of the Omonia Greek Minority Democratic Union is reported to have been created at a meeting in Lushnje, "attended by minority residents of this town and the surrounding villages," at which a speaker stated that this association "will protect the interests of the Greek minority on the basis of international documents and will be a factor in further strengthening the friendship between the Greek and Albanian peoples."

Students Registered in College Constituencies

AU1403211291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] The Education Ministry spokesman learned from the Presidium of the Central Electoral Commission that

all resident students in the constituencies involving college dormitories have been registered. Resident students who are also registered in the constituencies of their family homes should report this to the education sections of the district people's councils' executive committees before 23 March 1991, through the relevant people's councils. These education sections should telex lists of students who wish to vote with their families to the college rectorates and directorates by 25 March 1991, so these lists may be sent immediately to the relevant people's councils for legal action. After 25 March 1991, the deregistration of resident students must be accompanied by evidence of voting rights.

New Humanitarian Association Formed

AU1403210291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Order No. 3 of the Health Ministry, dated 12 March 1991, approved the creation of the Albanians for Albania Humanitarian Association [Shoqata Humanitare Shqiptari per Shqiptarine]. This is a voluntary association, led in its activities by the principles of humanism and love and respect for man. The well-known activist Mother Teresa will be the spiritual leader of every member of this association. Through the efforts of people who wish to join this association, her highly humane mission will be fulfilled.

Kapllani, De Michelis Hold Talks in Rome

AU1403142791 Tirana ATA in English 0904 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—Negotiations were held between our minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, and his Italian colleague, Gianni de Michelis, in Rome on March 13. The foreign ministers of Albania and Italy talked on the course of Albanian-Italian relations concentrating in particular on their actual situation. Both ministers discussed the latest departure of many Albanian nationals for Italy. They underlined that this mass exodus was undesired for both parties, but it is not a basic factor to negatively influence in these relations. Its treatment through understanding on the part of Italy is expression of a new solidarity emerging today in the international relations, the ministers underlined in the talks.

The Minister Muhamet Kapllani spoke of the democratic processes undertaken in Albania and which are carrying our country towards the democratic and pluralistic elections of March 31. The process of democratization, Muhamet Kapllani underlined, is irreversible and the actual difficulties cannot stop its course. It is important, he stressed, to go to elections in tranquillity and social peace, because every turbulence and destabilization of Albania in these moments may bring about grave consequences not only for it but also for the whole region of the Balkans.

On his part, Gianni de Michelis said that Italy is following with attention and respect the process of democratization in Albania. He underlined also that the Italian party has adopted all measures so that beginning with March 18 it will start to immediately send humanitarian aids such as food articles and medicines. Besides these aids, the Minister de Michelis stressed, Albania and Italy will start to apply a three-year program of economic aids as well as long term ones for the development of Albania. Both sides were of the same opinion that all possibilities exist for the Albanian-Italian relations to mark sensitive developments and enter a new qualitatively phase. Gianni de Michelis said that in return of our foreign minister's visit, he will visit Albania in the beginning of May this year.

The talk was conducted in a warm and friendly atmosphere. Attending these talks were also the Italian foreign vice minister and senator, Claudio Vitalone, and the ambassador of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in Rome, D. Dervishi.

On March 13, the foreign vice minister, Claudio Vitalone, gave a dinner in honour of the Albanian foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani. Present were the chairman of the Foreign Commission of the House of Deputies, Flaminio Piccoli; senators, deputies, senior functionaries of the Italian Foreign Ministry, and other state institutions.

IMF Delegation Holds News Conference in Tirana

AU1403142891 Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—On March 13, before noon, the working mission of the International Monetary Fund, that has come to our country to cooperate with the financial and bank organs as well as with the central institutions and economic organisms regarding Albania's adherence to the IMF and to other international financial organisms, organised a press conference in one of the environments of the State Bank in Tirana. Attending the press conference were representatives of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, Radio-TV, journalists of press organs, as well as working people of central institutions.

Opening the conference, the head of the IMF working mission, Prof. Mario Blejer [name as received] said that, I wish to make a short statement and then respond to the questions. We are here as representatives of the International Monetary Fund to get realistically acquainted with the hitherto growth of the Albanian economy, following a request for membership by your government in January this year to the IMF and World Bank, powerful international financial organisms. The IMF was created after the World War Two, in 1946 and is composed of 155 members, that is the majority of the countries of the world. We are very happy for the recent developments in Albania and its request for membership in the IMF. In course of this visit we started the process of getting acquainted with your country.

We thank the Albanian Government for the readiness shown to present the development of economy of your country, as well as for the high level of cooperation with your specialists and experts of different fields of economy, affording a special assistance to its acquaintance. In conclusion Prof. Blejer said that I wish to mention the fact that you are going to the first pluralist elections, at a time when the cooperation of IMF with your country will go on.

Then, Prof. Blejer and his colleagues, Lukexille and Friedman [names as received] replied to the questions of the journalists on the conditions of admittance to IMF, the prolongation of the admittance procedure, the possibilities of technical and financial assistance and the concordance of our legislation with the requests for admittance to the IMF, the priorities of investments in our country, etc. In their replies, they emphasized that we have gathered a rich information on the state of the economy on the whole, the changes that are taking place in Albania and the measures adopted for the complete structuring and reforming of the economy, in order to pass on the free market economy, things which will contribute to work out the report to be presented to the IMF Council. They said also that according to the hitherto work and with a more intensive cooperation in the future, the process of Albania's admittance to the IMF will be accelerated.

Speaking of the future of our economy, they underlined also that its growth depends greatly on the actual and future directions of investments, concentrating them especially on the exploitation of major possibilities our country possesses, such as the geographical position, the climatic conditions, natural resources, human potential, etc. Important place was devoted to the necessity of technological renovation of various branches of the Albanian economy.

In conclusion, Prof. Mario Blejer stressed among others that integration in the international community implies a powerful reliance on the internal potentials of he country, as well as their harmonization with the other countries of the community. It is understandable that the assistance of the financial and monetary international organisms will not lack. We should righteously comprehend the wish of the Albanian Government to adhere to the IMF and World Bank, as Albania's wish to participate in all the processes of international community.

Crisis Over Legality of Legislative Elections

AU1403181391

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1600 GMT on 14 March resumes the live relay of today's session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly after a two-hour recess, held to enable the legislative party groups to hold consultations on the Credential Committee's report on the legality of the 1990 national elections.

At 1600 GMT Aleksandur Yordanov, on behalf of the SDS legislative group, offers an apology to its voters for Rumen Vodenicharov being elected on an SDS ticket. He then recommends that the members "support the decision of the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly on the legality of elections to the Grand National Assembly."

He is followed at 1602 GMT by Zhan Videnov, who on behalf of the BSP group confirms that they accept the report on the Credentials Committee, and proposes an alternative text for clause one of the draft decision, according to which the legislature approves the legality of the elections of 408 members of the government.

In a stormy atmosphere, at 1607 GMT Chairman Nikolay Todorov tries to begin to put to a clause by clause vote the draft resolution approving the Credential Committee's report. The Grand National Assembly Bureau's proposed text of clause one of the resolution is voted down, after which the Grand National Assembly Bureau fails to give a ruling on whether it approves the BSP's proposed version of clause one. The Agrarian Party group then asks for a 30-minute recess, which is granted at 1615 GMT, after which the live relay ends.

At 1800 GMT, Elena Shtereva reports from the studio that the recess is still in progress.

At 1801 GMT, the announcer in the central radio studio says: "To this I will add a piece of news we have just received from BTA, which also concerns the legislature. The item states as follows:

"Following the forced recess at today's session of the Grand National Assembly, there was talk in the lobbies about a legislative crisis. President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, and all the ministers in the cabinet have arrived at the legislative building."

Crisis Involves Ganev's Credentials

AU1503074391 Sofia BTA in English 2304 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—The legislative crisis in Bulgaria culminated today. The united opposition: the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), came up with a joint declaration accusing the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) of being non-constructive, of trying to call into question the legitimacy of the legislature, the president and the government elected by the Bulgarian Legislature and of raising obstacles to the reform. The opposition called a nationwide rally on Sunday under the motto "Let's Rescue Legislative Democracy."

After the row the Bulgarian Legislature which was elected in June last year nearly broke up. After three days of heated debates on the report submitted by the Credentials Committee, which was to decide whether the legislative elections and the election of the MP's were legitimate, the matter was finally put to the vote.

Just seven more votes were needed to carry the motion of the legislature's Bureau declaring the elections legitimate. Amidst the general commotion the chairman of the Grand National Assembly put to the vote the motion of the BSP legislative faction which insisted that the elections were legitimate and that 408 MP's had won their seats in a legitimate way. According to the opposition, the number of lawfully elected MP's is 409, SDS activist Stoyan Ganev included. But from the very moment the debate on the Credentials Committee's report opened, the BSP kept insisting that Mr. Ganev's election should be cancelled. The opposition was dead set to fight for Ganev, accusing the Socialists that they wanted to oust the co-chairman of the legislative SDS.

After the vote on the BSP's motion, it was still unclear whether there was a quorum in the chamber. The BZNS moved for a break. There was a word among the opposition leaders in the lobbies that the SDS would walk out of the legislature because the Socialists, who hold the majority, voted down the decision declaring the legitimacy of the Bulgarian Legislature.

In a second break the Bulgarian legislative opposition—the SDS, the BZNS and the DPS—convened for an emergency conference while the Socialists were pacing the lobbies.

President Zhelev and Prime Minister Popov rushed to the legislature. People gathered outside the building and started chanting "resignation."

Two hours later the united opposition made its joint declaration, the opening words of which were: "Democracy is in danger." The BSP was accused of trying to discredit the Bulgarian Legislature and call into question the election of the president and the government and put a spoke in the wheel of the reform. The most serious accusation was that by today's vote the Socialists actually opposed the replacement of the system—they were acting according to a scenario carefully plotted a long time before.

Mr. Zhan Videnov MP of the BSP said the Socialists were surprised. He said it was not the legislature that was called into question, but only that of SDS floor leader Stoyan Ganev.

The reading of the opposition declaration and Mr. Videnov's statement were broadcast live on TV.

Opposition: BSP Endangering Democracy

AU1403195091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1840 GMT 14 Mar 91

["Declaration of the Legislative Groups of the Union of Democratic Forces, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and the Rights and Freedoms Movement," read by opposition spokesman in the radio studio of the National Assembly building in Sofia—live]

[Text] Citizens of Bulgaria: Legislative democracy is at risk. The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], by using its legislative voting majority, has shed doubt on the legality of the Grand National Assembly. By this action it attempted to censure the legally elected people's deputies. At the same time, this exceptionally important legislative act is aimed at blocking the democratic process. It also casts doubt on the legally elected president of the country. It attempts to stop the economic reform being carried out by the government and to interrupt the legislative program of the Grand National Assembly adopted under the political agreement between the legislative forces. It is also aimed at preventing the Land Act and all the other legislative texts adopted by the Grand National Assembly from coming into effect.

By passing this vote of no confidence in the Grand National Assembly, the BSP legislative group set itself in categorical opposition to changing the country's political and economic system. The BSP representatives, who have repeatedly violated the political agreement, have proven that this is part and parcel of a long-term and well-considered political strategy aimed at interrupting the democratic process in our country.

Citizens of Bulgaria, do not yield to the provocations of the BSP. Let all of us together defend democracy and its tender shoots. The united opposition in the Grand National Assembly—the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, Rights and Freedoms Movement, and the Union of Democratic Forces—calls a nationwide rally at 1400 on Sunday 17 March in St. Aleksandur Nevski Square under the slogan: Let us defend legislative democracy. Allow me to invite all the listeners of the Khorizont Program who are fighters for democracy to take part in our rally.

BSP Replies to Opposition's Accusations

AU1403203691 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1844 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Interview with Zhan Videnov, people's deputy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and Mikhail Nedelchev, people's deputy of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Elena Shtereva in the radio studio in the National Assembly building in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Shtereva] Here is Mr. Zhan Videnov to give a reply on behalf of the Bulgarian Socialist Party to the opposition's accusations.

[Videnov] I do not know what your views are, esteemed listeners, but it seems to me that no one here in the legislature seriously believes that the resolution adopted by the Grand National Assembly an hour or more ago placed a question mark over the legislture's legality. The adopted resolution, in full conformance with the text of the Constitution—and indeed the literal wording of the resolution is taken from it—asserts that, on the basis of the report of the Credentials Commission, 408 of the 409 people's deputies were legally elected as members of the Grand National Assembly at the elections held on 10 and 17 June 1990. The figure of 409 arises because, as you know, there have been resignations from the National Assembly; additional people have entered the Grand National Assembly on the basis of the party lists and the Velingrad by-election. Thus, 408 of the 409 members have been legally elected.

Regarding the question of doubt in the legality of a particular election, such doubt does exist, and it concerns the 90th Pazardzhik Constituency [represented by Stoyan Ganev, member of the Union of Democratic Forces]. This is something of which you are aware from today's live relay of the debates in Grand National Assembly on Bulgarian Radio.

The legislative group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] does not feel that conditions have been created today to block the work of the legislature. Our group does not feel that the viewpoint it adopted in the voting in the Grand National Assembly today reflects any kind of Socialist deputies' no confidence vote in the legislature itself. Quite the reverse, the resolution also contains further clauses that define the method by which the doubts will be dispelled, and under which the Grand National Assembly will issue its final pronouncement on the doubtful mandates of deputies, and we hope that, with more calm, greater common sense, and sounder understanding of the real facts, the Grand National Assembly will surmount the difficulties.

[Shtereva] The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly has proposed two further clauses of this resolution for approval. Do you think that they will be voted on this evening, Mr. Nedelchev?

[Nedelchev] No. I do not expect they will be voted on tonight. According to its regulations, the Grand National Assembly can work only until 2000. This time has long elapsed; we cannot expect any further proceedings today.

Solution to Crisis Sought

AU1503104791 Sofia BTA in English 0956 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—The legislative which erupted in the Bulgarian Grand National Assembly yesterday, was probably the gravest in its nine-month life. Today's "DEMOKRATSIYA" headlines its report "Legislature in Crisis," and "SVOBODEN NAROD" goes further: "Legislature in Coma." Early this morning Legislative

Chairman Academician Nikolay Todorov said on national radio that there can be a political way out and that the political forces can find it.

Late last night the political forces held consultations looking for a political way out. Some sort of solution is expected when the legislature meets at 11 a.m. Local time today. [passage omitted]

Yesterday the Socialist majority killed a motion declaring the legitimacy of the parliamentary elections as a whole. In the ensuing commotion which erupted not without the help of the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, a BSP-moved [Bulgarian Socialist Party] amended version was put to the vote, calling into question only the legitimacy of the election of Mr. Stoyan Ganev, co- president of the legislative group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The opposition walked out of the chamber and did not take part in the voting. Opposition MP's said in the lobbies that the SDS will leave the legislature altogether. [passage omitted]

Word went round the lobbies that the second voting yesterday had been invalid because it had been conducted without a quorum. Until late into the night the opposition claimed that the Socialists' vote had carried the fatal decision that the legislature was illegitimate.

The sitting was disrupted. President Zhelev and Prime Minister Popov had already arrived in the legislature. The leaders of the political forces met for emergency consultations. In the lobbies, however, quite a few SDS MP's said they were against the negotiations held by some of their leaders.

A compromise was reached about 10 p.m. local time. Two MP's, one of the BSP and of the SDS each, invoked their right and applied to the Bureau of Parliament, moving to cancel the two votes and to adjourn for today the dispute which put the legislature to a fatal test. However, the Socialist MP's were the only ones to hear this motion resulting from the negotiations between the political forces. Most opposition MP's had left the chamber. It is difficult to say whether the legislature will convene in full strength today.

It is still more difficult to predict whether all MP's will go along with last night's deal between the leaders. Many Socialists told the press in the lobbies that they will not vote a second time for the sake of their leaders. Opposition MP's say the same, claiming that the negotiations to rescue a legislature with a Socialist majority were pointless. [passage omitted]

Todorov Optimistic About Settlement

AU1503082591 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Interviewed on the Khorizont radio program this morning, Grand National Assembly Chairman Nikolay Todorov voiced optimism over today's development of events in the National Assembly. He said his optimism was based on the constructive tone of the consultations held last night and the fact that the people's deputies were firm in their resolve to overcome the political differences that had developed.

Asked whether he would chair today's assembly [session], Todorov replied in the affirmative.

Cabinet Discusses Draft Legislation, Decrees

AU1403183991 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Statement by Prime Minister Dimitur Popov in Sofia on 14 March—recorded]

[Text] During the government meeting held today in the large meeting hall of the Council of Ministers building, the national emblem was removed and replaced by the national tricolor flag. More important, however, were the contents of the meeting, during which the ministers discussed two problems of exceptional importance for all of us. The ministers adopted a decree on decentralizing and demonopolizing the Bulgarian economy, as well as a package of draft legislation on local administration: on the country's administrative and territorial organization, the election of municipal councils, and a bill on amendments to the Constitution. The package of documents will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly next week.

[Popov] It was necessary to prepare the package of draft legislation to give the Grand National Assembly the opportunity to discuss and adopt the bills simultaneously, so as to remove any contradictions between the bills.

I hope that next Tuesday [19 March] we will be able to fulfill our obligation to the National Assembly and submit this package for discussion and adoption.

Gentlemen, this issue is very important because it is connected to the conduct of the local authority elections and affects the time at which these elections are to be held. The laws and the Bulgarian Constitution specifies deadlines for holding the local elections. There is a two-month deadline allowed [passage indistinct]. The date of the elections depends on when the Grand National Assembly adopts the laws, when they are published, and when the laws come into force. It will be possible to hold the elections in two months time at the earliest.

In connection with the so-called demonopolization, this relates to a decentralization and reorganization of the structure of the Bulgarian economy. Mr. Pushkarov submitted a memorandum which contained many things of merit and was discussed at the meeting, as well as a draft decree. In the view of all members of the Council of Ministers—which I hope all the political forces share—it is now very necessary to demonopolize and restructure the economy and dismantle the monopoly structures to stimulate the national economy, the market, production, trade, and so on. This is a very important act, because

the restructuring of the economy is, I would say, the second and decisive phase or stage of the start of the changes in our economy directed toward a market economy.

Many proposals were made of legal, economic, and other kinds, and the draft decree was adopted in principle. The government instructed the relevant team of experts to carry out further work on the draft decree, because some of the comments and proposals made were extensive and complex.

The meeting also considered a bill on competition, which I think has to be adopted and decided in the Grand National Assembly. We did not adopt a final view on whether the document should be prepared in the form of a decree, decision, order, or some other kind of act of the Council of Ministers. There is no doubt that this issue will be decided in the Council of Ministers; this will be done, and the document will be finally adopted at the earliest on Monday [18 March].

Ethnic Protests in Kurdzhali Dissipating

AU1403162891 Sofia BTA in English 1520 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—"Gradually life in the town of Kurdzhali is turning back to normal though there is still tension and insecurity in the air," say journalists, special correspondents and the MP's who visited the town on the weekend. "But we will hardly ever be able to come to terms with the Bulgarian National Radical Party," Mr. Vladimir Sotirov, Green Party MP, told the BTA. Several days ago he visited the town of Kurdzhali. According to Mr. Sotirov, the undercurrent tension stems from the local people's fear that the top authorities may change their mind. In the last four or five years the policy of the Bulgarian Communist (now Socialist) Party towards the Turks changed several times. [passage omitted]

The National Radicals are still holding rallies and blockading streets in Kurdzhali but the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] will not resort to unlawful means to protest the moratorium on Turkish language classes, (as the DPS calls the legislative decision), Mr. Yashar Shaban, MP of the DPS, told a BTA reporter. Next weekend the DPS will call a rally under the slogan: "With human rights Bulgaria in Europe."

According to Mr. Shaban those who are actually to blame for the current unrest in Kurdzhali and other regions are not those who are occupying schools, but the engineers and the executors of the forcible assimilation campaign in 1984-1985. "The ethnic Turks' rights are most violently opposed by those who fear both economic and political changes," Mr. Shaban believes. According to him, people connected with the former Bulgarian Communist Party have been pulling the strings. They, however, are doing it underhand. The moratorium on Turkish language classes imposed by the Socialist legislative majority comes to show that they intend to slow down the changes at least for the time being.

"When it comes to the defence of the ethnic Turks' legal rights, the Green Party adopts the most correct stand," Mr. Shaban believes.

DPS: Turkish Program Postponement Illegal

AU1303224091 Sofia BTA in English 2118 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—According to the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS)—an organization expressing the interests mainly of the ethnic Turks—the legislature's decision to postpone the introduction of the Turkish language as an optional subject at the Bulgarian schools for the next school year is anti-constitutional. "The movement will take steps to organize Turkish classes outside the schools and will call meetings and other protest actions in southeast and northeast Bulgaria in the next two weeks," Mr. Ahmed Dogan, DPS leader, said at a press conference of the DPS leaders today.

Responding to a question, Mr. Dogan said that the text of a treaty for friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey is being drafted and will probably be signed soon. The treaty will settle problems of bilateral cooperation and Balkan security.

In answer to a question Mr. Dogan said that his idea that Bulgaria's way to Europe goes through the Bosphorus had undergone certain development. "From the point of view of the latest negotiations between Bulgaria and Europe, Bulgaria has emerged as an European subsystem. This is extremely important. Within this context, we will probably witness the creation of a Balkan market before gaining access to the Common Market," Mr. Dogan said.

According to Mr. Dogan, this idea could be realized through the establishment of a Black Sea enterprise zone. Mr. Dogan described the visit of Turkish President Mr. Turgut Ozal to the USSR as "an extremely positive act in the European world political reality," and pointed out that the accelerated development of the economic relations between Moscow and Ankara is a precondition for stable economic relations between all Black Sea countries.

In response to a question put by the BTA, whether in this subsystem there would be a free movement of labour force, goods and capital or whether it would merely promote the development of bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation, Mr. Dogan said, "It seems that bilateral relations are no guarantee to the differentiation and consolidation of the Balkans as a subsystem. All Balkan countries should be bound both by bilateral and by multilateral contractual relations. Actually the free movement of people, capital, goods and information on the analogy of the West European model should also

become a reality in the Balkans. Only then can we speak of a common and united Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals."

Mr. Dogan did not answer the question of the BTA on how the other Balkan states, such as Yugoslavia and Greece, were to join the Black Sea economic enterprise zone if they show a desire to do so. He pointed out that this problem will be solved by the member states of the zone.

A. the press conference it was announced that a delegation of representatives of the opposition in the legislature the main body of which will be formed by two representatives of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, will pay a visit to Saudi Arabia. There the Bulgarian MP's will negotiate the granting of financial aid and credits for humanitarian purposes.

The DPS MP Mr. Ibrahim Tatarlu said that the recently opened Semi-Higher Islamic Institute should acquire the status of a higher educational establishment which would contribute to the promotion of Bulgaria's relations with the Islamic world.

The DPS leaders declared themselves for the bringing to account of all who are responsible for the criminal deeds during the so-called regenerative process in Bulgaria. Mr. Dogan said that the most important task now is the overcoming of mutual mistrust and prejudice between the ethnic communities which, according to him, will take at least two or three years. In response to a question Mr. Tatarlu denied having publicly urged for the establishment of two official languages in Bulgaria and said that Bulgaria is a "one nation state in which there have formed historically ethnic, religious and language minorities."

National Radical Rally Fizzles in Razgrad

AU1203222991 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] This evening the Bulgarian National Radical Party convened a protest rally in Razgrad, at which the speaker addressed a small crowd of people, who remained rather silent. The speakers spent more time on choosing epitnets for the political and state leaders than in presenting arguments in support of any thesis. Calls were made for the government and the president of the Republic to resign and for the legislature to dissolve itself. Appeals to support the Bulgarian National Radical Party were also made.

Few Attend BNRP Protest

AU1303220291 Sofia BTA in English 2041 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The Bulgarian National Radical Party (BNRP), which was the most intransigent in its protests against the decision to introduce Turkish classes at the Bulgarian schools, was used by other political forces, says the National Committee in Defence of National Interests. The committee distances itself from the most extreme demands and actions of the BNRP and has issued a declaration which points out that the National Radicals have become victims of well-plotted combinations of certain political figures and former top officials of Department 6 of the State Security (which played the role of a political police).

The BTA correspondent in the town of Kurdzhali, where the tension was highest, reports that the situation has normalized today. The BNRP actions had small attendance and were rather inert.

The Committee in Defence of National Interests declared that it is not an anti-Turkish organization. Its aim is to defend the Bulgarian nature of the state. The committee claims that the tension in the mixed-population regions is a result of the inconsistent policy on the ethnic problem.

Today the BNRP called a rally in Sofia which was attended by a handful of party supporters. Mr. Ivan Georgiev, the BNRP leader, made a rather strange statement on the national television. After his invariable criticism of institutions, Mr. Georgiev said that Bulgaria is under Turkish yoke and that his party intends to convene a national assembly in a historic place and, if necessary, organize an uprising. Mr. Georgiev obviously cannot distinguish between present and past events.

Foreign Ministry: No Turkish Friendship Treaty

AU1403151391 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Responding to a BTA question on whether a Bulgaro-Turkish friendship treaty is being prepared, Minko Sladkarov, head of the Balkan Countries Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated that Bulgaria and Turkey have not held, nor are holding any talks on preparing such a document.

Commenting at the request of BTA on the statement by Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], that the text of the treaty has already been agreed at the government level and may be signed in the near future, Mr. Sladkarov said that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has no information about such a treaty being prepared. We do not know if something is being done in connection with this issue in Turkey, but for the moment the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has neither conducted any talks not taken part in the preparation of such a document, he said.

Mr. Sladkarov pointed out that the preparation of such documents is a lengthy process requiring a high level of responsibility.

Proposed Black Sea Convention Discussed

AU1303192991 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The Black Sea conservation convention, on which the Black Sea countries are

now working, may come into force by the end of next autumn, an expert of Bulgaria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said today. According to him, though delayed by 15 years, this convention stands comparison with the Baltic and Barcelona conventions.

The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry proposed the drafting of such a convention in 1976 but it was only in 1987 that serious negotiations began. They became most intensive in 1990 when three meetings were held in Sofia, Moscow and Bucharest. Another meeting is to be held in Ankara, probably the last before the signing of the document. This will take place at a diplomatic conference and each of the countries will decide at what level to sign the convention.

A standing committee will be set up, comprising one representative from each country, to monitor the observance of the convention and to work out additional measures. Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey are willing to host the headquarters of the committee.

The convention provides not only for cooperation in controlling, avoiding and limiting pollution in the Black Sea but also for sci-technical cooperation which will include joint research and exchange of scientific methods and data.

The convention will include three protocols: on countering pollution with oil and other dangerous substances in cases of accidents, on the dumping of materials and substances (this protocol includes two lists of dangerous and of harmful substances), and on land sources of pollution.

Emigration Causes Danger of Demographic Crisis

AU1303161391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Mar 91 p 2

[Boryana Buchvarova report: "Bulgaria Is Threatened By Demographic Crisis: 460,000 People Have Emigrated"]

[Text] Bulgaria is in the throes of a demographic crisis. The birth rate has dropped in all European countries, with the exception of Albania, and in the majority of Soviet republics, the United States, Canada, and New Zealand. According forecasts based on UN reports, depopulation will affect 15 countries of the world by the year 2000.

Professor Anton Totev, expert of the Legislative Commission on Demographic Problems, declared at the last meeting of the commission: "This general trend has drastically increased in Bulgaria."

So far a total of 460,000 Bulgarian citizens have emigrated. This figure is subject to fluctuations and will probably increase to a stable average of 400,000 people. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that 1,200,000 Bulgarians from Bessarabia and Middle Asia would like to settle in our country.

The demographic commission was alerted that the mortality rate in Bulgaria is much higher than in the developed countries. It is a well known fact that for the first time in our demographic history the natural rate of growth is negative. The percentage of children who do not outlive their mother's age is high. In Bulgaria the average statistical figure of living children borne by one woman has reached 1.81 (while in Western Europe this figure has already dropped below 1.5). The minimum figure required for the natural reproduction of a country's population is 2.1. For this reason it would be more realistic to encourage the birth of two, rather than three children in Bulgarian families, the demographic commission stated.

The Commission on Demographic Problems proposes the drafting of a comprehensive state policy on social-demographic problems. The policy should be based on the family's right to freely decide how many children it wants and when they should be born.

Zhivkov Trial: Dyulgerov Questioned on Housing

AU1403212991 Sofia BTA in English 1827 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—Today the defendant Zhivkov requested a chance to explain the "problems" connected with the distribution of housing by the former Central Committee [CC] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. The issue is now in the centre of the witness examinations in the trial against him and Milko Balev. He took the opportunity to reiterate that the court proceedings were tendentious.

The court promised to let Zhivkov talk but did not specify when.

The witness Mr. Petur Dyulgerov, ex-alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP and ex-trade-union leader, said that the distribution of housing by the central committee and the security and protection department was "widespread." In his case, however, it was Todor Zhivkov's late aide, Lyuto Bozhev, a key figure in the distribution of flats from the "special stock," who on his own initiative expressed readiness to "help for the long-term solution of the housing problem of his (Mr. Dyulgerov's) daughter," and this is how she got her flat.

Mr. Dyulgerov himself denied to have talked personally with Zhivkov about a flat. Moreover, he believes that such a request would have been humiliating for him.

The ex-trade-union leader also bought his daughter a Western-made car, care of the former security and protection department. As regards the doubts whether he had paid the full price, he said "if the state had been robbed, it can also be compensated."

Some of the witnesses referred to the acute housing shortage as reason for seeking the help of the former Central Committee of the BCP. An ex-minister was said

to have lived with his wife in an attic and had to be appointed ambassador to solve his problem. After his return to Bulgaria the straw he clutched at was the CC of the BCP. A doctor from the former governmental clinic managed to exchange her flat also with the help of the Central Committee.

Popov Talks With Journalists on Paper Shortage

AU1403122891 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 10 11 Mar 91 pp 8-9

[Unattributed report: "Permanent Newsprint Shortage"]

[Text] Prime Minister Dimitur Popov met a group of publishers and chief editors of newspapers and journals on 7 March. On this occasion we interviewed Slav Todorov, chief of the Main Administration of Press and Book Publishing under the Council of Ministers, who stated as follows:

The prime minister's great idea was that publishers, printing shops, and editorial boards should make financial contributions to the Paper and Cellulose Production Plant in Silistra. In the course of preliminary talks we considered the idea of establishing a council of newspapermen and publishers. The idea was not fully understood in my opinion. The participants deviated from the subject and the discussion once more focused on the crucial problem of how to overcome the extreme newsprint shortage during the current month of March.

Publishers of school books and children's literature submitted urgent requests related to the circumstance that interest rates have increased enormously and insisted on tax exemptions. Textbooks and school manuals are usually printed several months in advance, but are sold only during the September-October period as a rule. Nevertheless, during all this time the book producers must pay interest.

Prime Minister Popov assumed a certain commitment by promising to examine each of these problems with particular care, although the government has enough to worry about.

The aforementioned idea deserves attention. Our paper plants are well-equipped with machines capable of processing thousands of tonnes of writing paper and newsprint. The proposal to assist the Silistra plant raises the question whether each editorial board or publishing house should not assume responsibility for its own existence.

As of 1 April 1991 the paper and newsprint business is expected to operate along market economy principles.

Military Prosecutor on 'Death Camps' Issue

AU1403203991 Sofia BTA in English 2000 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—At a news conference held here today the prosecutor general of the Armed Forces, Colonel Lilko Yotsov, said that the culprits for the mass killings and tortures in the "death camps" functioning at Lovech, Skravena and some other places in the 1950's cannot be tried because of statutory rules limiting the time within which such charges can be brought. Last year's amendments extending the limitation period from 30 to 35 years do not help because they are not retroactive, they are just an eye-wash. To provide the legal framework for the trial of the culprits, the investigation on whom has been already completed, the Grand National Assembly should pass a special retrospective law on crimes against humanity, genocide and torture.

The tortures and murders in the camps defy human imagination, Colonel Yotsov said. He pointed out that the prosecutor's office does not intend to forgive "anybody anything" and expressed his conviction that not only the principals should be brought to court, but also the founders and organizers of the camps. They should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. This will be only possible under a special law because the retroactive effect principle runs counter to the country's juridical traditions and practice.

The investigation of the culprits for the so-called "regeneration process" will soon be completed, and Todor Zhivkov, who is now tried for corruption and taking unfair advantage of his authority, will find himself in the dock again, Colonel Yotsov announced.

The indictment against one of the deputy ministers of the interior and the chief of the Sofia Police Department is ready. They are charged with failing to take measures when the Bulgarian Socialist Party's headquarters were set on fire last August.

Four thousand Bulgarians of conscript age have left the country, which creates serious difficulties in securing replacement for the Armed Forces personnel, it was announced at the news conference.

Radioactive Waste Storage Problem at Kozloduy

AU1403221491 Sofia BTA in English 1824 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Kozloduy, March 14 (BTA)—"The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has a problem storing radioactive waste, the problem goes back to the design which omitted to provide long-term storage depots," an expert of the plant's Safety and Control Department said.

The depots of the first four generating units in one building are full. The depots in the second building are unusable because of leaking water. Unit 5 went into operation without the design installations for bituminizing liquid radioactive waste, for burning the flammable ones, for pressing the solid ones and for recycling of radioactive oils. Unit 6 will also go into operation without an installation for the processing of solid and liquid waste. They only rely on the expansion of the tank capacity of the Special Building No. 3.

A Bulgarian expert, Associate Professor Todor Dimchev, claims that the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant produces more waste than planned. In 1990, in five months alone, Unit 5 produced 25,844 cubic meters of liquid waste, which is the quantity projected for an entire year. Every year one-third of the fuel in the plant is replaced.

The radioactive waste storage and recycling problem is alarming and concerns not only the plant in Kozloduy, it is of national importance. The government must take measures for its solution before it turns into an environmental disaster. Moreover, it is unclear when and on what terms the Soviet Union will accept this waste—if at all, after the Russian legislature decreed on June 28, 1990, to ban the burial of radioactive waste imported from the other constituent republics or from abroad on Russian territory. Even if the waste is accepted for processing, the payment will be in hard currency, i.e. about 1,000 U.S. dollars per kilogram of waste.

Monthly Production, Employment, Labor Statistics

AU1503091891 Sofia BTA in English 2246 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—In the first two months of 1991 Bulgaria's total output was valued at 16,800 million leva in current-price terms. Industrial products account for 84.2 percent of the total output, construction and assembly, design and prospecting for 5.8 percent, transport for 5.8 percent, 3.9 percent came from commercial rebates, extras and surcharges, the Central Board of Statistics reports.

After the liberalization of prices the volume of production in value terms grew by 8,400 million leva. The January increase was 2,300 million leva and the February growth was 6,100 million leva, or 57.0 percent. Production was 19.3 percent down from the same period last year, the amount of industrial commodities declined 25.1 percent. Of a total of 505 companies and economic organizations, 330 330, or 63 percent, slumped their production and 113 businesses did not produce anything in February, 43 businesses did not submit information on their output in these two months. The production in 199 of the 273 municipalities declined from last year, in 30 of them the slump exceeded 40 percent.

The Central Board of Statistics reports that state and cooperative businesses lost a large part of their staffs. In January 64,343 workers in more than 3,000 businesses quit work, in January alone 11,615 people became redundant because productions and workshops were closed down or combed out. Their number is growing.

As a result of the price rises the retail turnover in the state and the cooperative sector rose 21.8 percent from the like period last year. The only regions where the turnover increase was lower than the national average were the city of Sofia (7.3 percent) and the Sofia Region (17.7 percent).

From January 15 to February 16 the prices of foods went up 2.85 times, of non-foods 1.69 times and of services 2.43 times. The Central Board of Statistics worked out the food retail price index for February 1-16, taking January as the base month, at 406 per cent. No calculation was made of a nonfoods index.

The amount of meat purchased from the population was 75.5 percent down, and the quantity of milk purchased from farm organizations alone was 26.1 per cent down. The shrinkage of production was not the only reason for the drop in the purchases of staple animal products in January, as many producers withheld their products from the market expecting the rise in purchasing prices and opportunities for unregulated marketing.

Figures Indicate Rising National Unemployment

AU1503102991 Sofia BTA in English 0854 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—Over 112,180 people have registered as unemployed in Bulgaria, while the vacancies reported at the employment agencies are only 10,559.

The figures show how things stand by March 11, Ms. Ana Kamenova, expert at the National Labour Exchange, told the BTA. She singled out the steep rise in the loss of university graduate jobs. The 15,784 unemployed in this category are offered only 435 vacancies. The worst hit professionals are engineers and technicians (43 per cent of all unemployed), followed by economists (18.7 per cent), teachers (16.1 per cent), and agricultural workers (8.4 per cent).

People under 30 form 45 per cent of the total number of unemployed. People over 50 are somewhat more numerous. Alarmingly, 61.2 per cent of the registered jobless are women.

About 47 per cent of the unemployed are workers and 13.3 per cent have no qualifications.

Pushkarov: Stage One of Reform Successful

AU1303201291 Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—"The reform in Bulgaria has scored its first success," the minister of industry, trade and services, Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, said at a meeting of managers of state-owned and private companies in Khaskovo. "The conditions in Bulgaria are specific and we can resort to foreign experience in our reform only to a limited extent," he added. The reform is bound to have some grave and even dramatic consequences and the people obviously understand this. According to Mr. Pushkarov the leap in prices has been checked and they have started to fall. The increase in goods in the market shows that the economy is moving in the right direction. Consumption has shrunk. The black-market exchange rate of the dollar has been dealt a blow.

The minister said that the second stage of the reform—including demonopolization and privatization, is forthcoming.

He stressed that economic contacts with the Soviet Union should be placed within normal limits.

Economic Managers' Union Leaves Tripartite Group

AU1203223091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] At an expanded meeting held today in Asenovgrad, the Administrative Council of the Union of Economic Managers decided to leave the tripartite Commission for Coordinating Interests. At the same time, it was decided to start talks with the private entrepreneurs, the leadership of the Union of Labor Cooperative Farms, and the Association of Agricultural Producers on coordinated action in conducting the economic reform and protecting the interests of the national economy.

Great emphasis was laid on the negative attitude of the Union of Economic Managers to the government's intentions to move toward decentralization and demonopolization of the economy. The meeting adopted a resolution describing the draft resolution of the Council of Ministers as an administrative act without economic justification. A resolution of support for the Confederation of Private Entrepreneurs was also adopted.

Charges Pending for BSP Headquarters Arson

AU1403151991 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] The Chief Prosecutor's Office and the Military Prosecutor's Office have initiated a preliminary investigation connected with the burning down of the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in Sofia.

As Colonel Milko Yotov, chief prosecutor of the Armed Forces and deputy chief prosecutor of the Republic, stated at a news conference today, the investigation has been concluded and charges are to be presented in an indictment to be submitted to the Supreme Court of the Armed Forces. The accused will be Stoyan Stoyanov, who at the time held the post of deputy minister of internal affairs, and Purvan Rusinov, chief of the Sofia Militia at the time, who were present at the fire but took no measures to prevent it. Mr. Yotov said that the issue concerns a technical military crime, namely failure to fulfill official duties, as a result of which harmful consequences ensued. He said that possibilities did exist to prevent the arson.

Kuwaiti Embassy Denies Recruiting Workers

AU1403152691 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Unscrupulous persons have recently been deceiving citizens with promises of work in Kuwait. Today BTA received an announcement from the Kuwaiti Embassy in Sofia that states that the embassy accepts no responsibility for the activities of companies and other institutions, both Bulgarian and non-Bulgarian, which are making lists for the recruitment of workers and specialists for work in Kuwait. The embassy has information that the purpose of these activities is illegal profit.

The Kuwaiti Embassy in Bulgaria states that no company or organization has been authorized to carry out such activities, and that it is impossible to arrange travel to Kuwait through such companies or organizations. This can only be arranged through the Kuwaiti Embassy, and an announcement will be made when the authorities in Kuwait notify the embassy of such a requirement.

New Permanent Vatican Envoy Interviewed

AU1403120891 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 10 11 Mar 91 p 6

[Report on interview with Anton Popov on Radio Vatican 28 February]

[Text] The name of the new Apostolic Nuncio accredited to Bulgaria is Mario Rizzi. It was announced on 28 February 1991.

Monsignor Mario Rizzi is a long-time, highranking functionary of the Vatican department in charge of East European churches. He was born in Persiceto, near Bologna in 1926. He is a graduate of canon law and is known as one of the greatest specialists of the Latin language in Rome. For his diplomatic mission in Bulgaria he will mainly use the Italian and French languages although he has a sufficient knowledge of Russian, Ukrainian, and other Slavonic languages. He is the author of numerous scholarly books on the lives of saints and on literary subjects.

The new apostolic envoy has visited our country on several ocasions. His trips were connected with the town of Nesebur. As a matter of fact, the first Vatican nuncio in our country, Monsignor Angelo Roncalli, who came in the thirties, was also conferred the title of Archbishop of Mesemvriya [ancient name of Nesebur].

Monsignor Rizzi is expected to present his credentials in Bulgaria within the upcoming weeks. His personal wish is that the ceremony take place on the occasion of the Slavonic holiday commemorating the brothers Cyril and Methodius. Immediately after Monsignor Rizzi has assumed his post, our country is expected to send its first diplomatic representative to the Vatican.

Diplomats To Train in West; Staff Cuts Planned

AU1303200091 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The Soviet diplomatic schools will no longer be the only place where Bulgarian diplomats can study and raise their qualification, it was

said at a briefing in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The ministry intends to have its staff trained in other countries too. It opts for countries with a developed democratic society and an advanced system of diplomatic training.

Several projects are already being implemented. The most comprehensive one envisages one-month courses in the United States where Bulgarian diplomats will raise their qualification on individual curricula attuned to their specific field of activity. The United States will cover all expenses. American experts are expected to visit the Foreign Ministry and to share their experience in staff selection and training. The ministry wants to create the necessary conditions for setting up a diplomatic school or academy in Bulgaria too.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has established contacts with the Vienna Diplomatic Academy, and with similar institutes in the Netherlands, Spain, and France. Bulgarian diplomats are already being trained at some of them.

Mr. Nikolay Bogdanov, chief secretary of the ministry and head of the Personnel Department, said that the ministry will restructure and cut down its staff. Professionalism will be the basic criterion of selection. In the future vacancies will be filled by competition.

He also stressed that the diplomatic school in Moscow, which enjoys international prestige, will not be neglected. However, the Foreign Ministry will not accept graduates from its three-year course who are mainly former party workers.

Slovak Ralliers Harass Havel, Official Convoy

LD1403211791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] A walking tour by President Vaclav Havel in the center of Bratislava this afternoon ended with an incident.

He first attended a rally organized by the Movement of Czechoslovak Understanding in support of the unity of the Czechoslovak state. The participants welcomed him by chanting Long live Havel.

Afterwards he walked toward the Slovak National Uprising Square where another rally was organized by the Slovak National Unity to mark the 52d anniversary of the foundation of the independent Slovak Republic. Seeing him the participants reacted with hissing and by chanting "We had enough of Havel", "Independent Slovakia", "Havel-provocateur". This was taking place despite calls from the platform for more discipline.

Vaclav Havel got into a car that took him to the building of the Slovak National Council, where he changed to his own presidential car. Agitated people struck the cars of the president's convoy with their fists and prevented members of the entourage from getting into their cars. No one was injured.

After returning to Bratislava Castle, the president spoke about the incident with journalists. He said that in his view most of the young people present did not know who Tiso [President of the Slovak state 1938-45] was, did not know anything about the Slovak state, and had become fanatics. Such a social phenomenon exists in all countries. It must be seriously considered. He did not exclude the possibility that among the speakers and the principle leaders or ideologists were people without dark intentions who honestly believe that it is now time to have an independent Slovak state. Why could somebody not have such a view, noted Vaclav Havel.

Havel Addresses Crowd in Bratislava

LD1403224191 Prague Federal Television Network in Czech 2115 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Address by President Vaclav Havel to a gathering of approximately 2000 people in front of Bratislava Castle on 14 March—recorded]

First of all, I would like to thank you for your sympathy, for expressions of support, for the view that you are expressing here, for having waited here such a long time. [chanting from participants] Second, I would like to say that you do not have the slightest need to apologize. I was not shocked when, at the Square of the Slovak National Uprising, they shouted: Enough of Havel!—and when they shook their fists and so on. I was not offended, I did not collapse. They simply expressed their view. I was devastated by something else. I was devastated by the way this event was reported by Slovak television. Inasmuch as I had an hour to spare, I decided to have a walk around Bratislava and to have a look at the Czech-Slovak friendship rally that was held on the embankment and to walk through the rally that was held on the Square of the Slovak National Uprising. I carried out this walk—I experienced the two rallies, and many participants in the first one joined me. They constituted a kind of entourage, and they accompanied me along the Square of the Slovak National Uprising along which I walked peacefully.

I heard all the attacks directed at myself and then, in peace, when I finally arrived at the end of the square, I got into my car and returned to the castle to record the address for Slovak television. This walk was reported on Slovak television, as well as in the federal broadcast, saying that allegedly I arrived in Slovakia because the highlight of my visit to Slovakia should have been the visit to the demonstration on the Square of the Slovak National Uprising and that I had been pushed out from this visit, that I had somehow been expelled. This is not true. I simply went through both rallies; I watched peacefully the conduct of citizens during both of them, and the way it was reported was evidently tendentious and manipulated.

This upset me. The people who shouted something against me on the square—well, they were simply young people who were brainwashed, who did not even really know what the Slovak state is, who Tiso was, and so on. They were people who simply succumbed to some kind of a collective psychosis, maybe some of them were true Slovak patriots, but they did not think properly about their conduct. I was not angry with them. I was angry with those who provided false reports about the whole thing on the TV newsreel; that is, on the Czechoslovak TV newsreel. [chanting from crowd: We love you]

I thank you yet again for your demonstration of support. Thank you for your sensible attitude, for your sensible views. I bid you goodbye. I must leave for Prague. Farewell.

Havel Addresses Slovak Military; Stresses Unity

LD1403134991 Brtislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Speech by CSFR President Vaclav Havel in Trencin; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] CSFR President Vaclav Havel arrived with his entourage today for a one-day visit to Slovakia. At the airport in Piestany an honor guard from Trencin garrison was on duty. He was welcomed by Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko and Brigadier (Jozef Tukynal), commander of the eastern military circle.

[Havel] Generals and officers, esteemed people: I have come to pay my respects to you and to talk to you about some tasks of our Army and its future. Before we start to discuss things, I would like to stress three important matters of a general nature.

First, our young democracy is living through very dramatic times today. We are seeking a new political system. We are seeking a state legislative setup to suit the real wish of our nations and all our citizens. We are changing our entire economy. We are looking for our new place in the world.

I would like to stress that our Army must not interfere or take part in this complicated process in any way, under any circumstances. No one must even use this option as a threat or to speculate with it. The role of the Army is to defend our state from a possible aggressor from outside or to help if necessary in a special situation some civilian sectors in their service to citizens. The image of tanks in city street is a terrifying image. To play with the idea of the Army influencing internal political events is to disclaim all ideals of our democratic revolution and all the values in which we believe.

I do not believe that Czechoslovakia is in danger of street unrest and clashes. I proclaim, however that even if something like that happened to us I would not allow the Army to be called upon to restore order. Second, I want to emphasize here that in the current situation the Czechoslovak Army can fulfill any defense tasks only as a united Army. From its beginning this Army is built as an integrated whole and is able to defend our borders, whichever they are, again only as an integrated whole. This particularly applies today when our forces and military technology are significantly reduced in accordance with the Paris agreements.

I regard the requirement that draftees from Slovakia should serve in Slovakia as justified. It is in keeping with the view I long held that young people should serve near their homes, if possible. At the same time, however, I must say that I regard as very imprudent—and from the viewpoint of our defense capability, very dangerous—various considerations about two national armies. If our country faced a military threat from any direction, then concentrated deployment is the only method for our defense. This is conceivable in the current conditions only as a deployment of a united Army controlled in a united way. Because you are military specialists, obviously I do not have to explain to you all the military, geographical, technical and economic reasons for this claim of mine.

Third, since its democratic revolution, Czechoslovakia has once again become an independent state. We have often said that we wish to live in friendship with all peoples, but if anyone threatens our freedom, independence, and sovereignty we are ready to defend these values. This spirit is contained in the new Czechoslovak military doctrine, and we are preparing to carry out an extensive transformation in this spirit as well.

As you know, the Warsaw Pact military structures themselves are being disbanded now. The radically new situation in which our country now finds itself naturally forces us to seek and to create new international security links based on the principle of equality of partners. Our duty is to provide life in peace and security for our citizens and to protect all our borders and all our territory. This duty binds us to certain initiatives in the international sphere.

Guided by this undertaking, I have accepted an invitation to the NATO headquarters, where I will speak next week. In Brussels I will discuss not our entry into this alliance, but a purely specific deepening of mutually advantageous cooperation and partnership in political, economic and military spheres alike. I assure you that these contacts are aimed against no one. We would like to incorporate a security factor even into the newly drafted treaties with those neighbors of our country that are not NATO members. This means into the treaty with the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland. I will be glad to receive your various suggestions for my forthcoming talks at NATO.

Esteemed people, finally let me express the joy and satisfaction that you certainly share with me that the respect and esteem to Czechoslovak flag are being restored. This is greatly due also to the uniforms of our unit in Saudi Arabia, bearing the Czechoslovak state emblem—of that unit which for the first time in many years again stood on the side of truth and right.

Let me greet you once again cordially and wish you many successes in the building of the Army of the new free Czechoslovakia.

Editor Alica Bielikova will tell you more about President Vaclav Havel's visit:

[Bielikova] The speech was followed by an informal discussion with the present representatives of the Army. Because the president's entourage also includes Frantisek Miklosko, Lubos Dobrovskiy, and Vaclav Klaus, the questions were rather varied: problems of military state enterprises, Army apartments, and overall financing and professionalization of the Czechoslovak Army. The defense minister's answer to the question on the union of professional soldiers was interesting. He said it is not a political but a professional union; therefore, it cannot be viewed in the same way as the Free Legions or Associations of Slovak Soldiers which have not a positive but a negative influence. [passage omitted]

Havel Addresses Nation on Slovak 'Crossroads'

LD1403194591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Mar 91

["Address by CSFR President Vaclav Havel to the Nations of Czechoslovakia," delivered at Bratislava Castle on 14 March—recorded]

[Text] All signs indicate that Slovakia today finds itself at an historic crossroads. For the first time in its history, it has the chance to make a totally free decision about its future. It depends solely on you, the citizens of the Slovak Republic, how to decide to realize your aspiration for national statehood. It depends solely on you what

future you will prepare for your nation and the nationalities living on Slovak territory, what future you prepare for your sons and grandsons.

In my view you have the chance, for the first time in your history, to link your national statehood and its constitutional expression with the idea of legality, democracy, and the spirit of European civic society and political culture, and thus open the way for yourselves to enter the family of the advanced European democracies. There are a number of indications that this is the sort of development favored by the majority of the people of Slovakia—the less vocal majority perhaps, but the level-headed and forward-thinking majority.

Recently, however, another possibility has been presented to you more and more often: that of placing your national aspirations above all other values and of making a decision in a manner that would confirm that preference. While I understand the reasons that lead to that concept, I am nonetheless convinced that this would mean wasting the unique opportunity Slovakia has today. The past teaches us that if the price of statehood is freedom and democracy, in the end that statehood too is lost. The European experience, on the other hand, shows that only freedom and democracy can provide lasting guarantees of national statehood and prosperity.

The choice is up to you. I can do no more than recommend you to choose the first option. As a Czech who feels himself to be an understanding friend of the Slovak nation, I recommend you to take this path because, in my firm conviction, it is in your interests. As the president of our common state, I recommend you to take this path because, by virtue of my office, I am obliged to ensure that the law and the constitution are upheld.

I am going to be specific: If you compel the Slovak National Council to adopt the proposed declaration about the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, then you will thus compel it to deny the current constitutional framework of the existence of the Slovak Republic and hence all our current legislation, including the legitimacy of the freely elected Federal Assembly and all the laws adopted by it.

Such a step would mean an actual disintegration of our entire legal order as well as the entire network of international and legal commitments that define and guarantee our common statehood. This would be the beginning of a chaotic disintegration of our state, the end of the trustworthiness it enjoys internationally, and probably the beginning of a long era of deep economic and social instability, a long era of hardship, a long era of anarchy from which only one way out would be imaginable—some kind of new dictatorship, and this time on the national basis. Everything is possible in a country where the rule of law is broken.

You certainly understand why I do not recommend this way to you. The way I recommend to you is the path of law, of a civilized state, and of high political standards. You have the right to make your choice yourselves, whether you wish to live in a federative state or whether you wish independence.

I would contradict myself and all the ideals I have held all my life if I denied the Slovak nation the right to decide freely in what kind of a state it wants to live. I do not deny you this right. On the contrary, I recommend that you use it and decide freely. I only think that you should decide democratically and in harmony with the law. I see the only really democratic way of how to decide such an important issue is a people's vote, i.e. in a referendum.

The bill on referenda is being discussed by the Federal Assembly. If it is adopted, and I do believe that this will happen, then all the citizens of Slovakia will have a legal opportunity to freely decide whether they wish to continue to live in a federative state with the Czech Republic or not.

Whatever your decision, it will be then lawful and legitimate, and our two nations will again win the respect of the international community. We will be respected for being able to make a decision even about such weighty and painful matters in a civilized way and within the framework of law, decency, and dignity.

The citizens of the Slovak Republic should have the option to decide in a referendum whether they want to live in a functioning federation or whether they want to live in an independent state. By a functioning federation I mean a federation that serves its members and is their joint project, joint task, and joint property; a federation in which its members are equal and decide together about common matters, for which they set up federal bodies for which they take full responsibility and which they fully respect.

By a functioning federation I mean a viable federation that its members do not regard as a necessary evil or as a brake on development but, on the contrary, as its engine. I mean a federation with all its basic attributes such as unified foreign policy, unified currency, unified defense, unified basic legislation. I mean a federation that is defined by the federal consitution as its basic law. The Federal Assembly is empowered to adopt this law on the basis of the will of the citizens of both subjects of the federation, and representatives of both republics can proclaim this law on its behalf.

For a number of reasons that I do not want to list here, I would find this solution better for the Slovak nation. For this and similar reasons, it would also be better for the Czech nation. If, however, you decide differently, I will fully respect your decision, all current federal institutions will respect it, and the Czech Republic will also respect it.

I think that only these two choices are available: a viable, real and functioning federation, based on equal partnership, or full independence. There is no third way. Rather than live for years in a federation that is not functioning

or in a sort of pseudo-federation which is only a burden and a source of complications, it is better to live in two independent states. If you do not want to live in a federation, and I mean in a real federation, I have no right to force you. I, however, have the right, and I have even a duty, to ask you to decide on your destiny in a lawful and orderly way.

I do not see the Slovak nation as a nation that is forgotten, forsaken, immature, and oppressed. I see it as a mature nation that is able and has the full chance to decide freely how to implement in the best possible way its self-determination and is also able to express its decision in a dignified way.

We live in a democratic state and we do not need to fight for our rights. We already have our rights, and we also have the legal chance to implement our rights according to our will.

I believe that not only in Slovakia but in the Czech lands too, after this dramatic time, common sense, responsibility, decency, and wise pragmatism will win. God is watching us, and I hope that we will not have to ask his forgiveness in a few years.

Havel Meets Ministers To Discuss Economy, Reform

LD1503095991 Prague CTK in English 2228 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received at Bratislava Castle today representatives of the Czechoslovak, Slovak and Czech Governments—Federal Minister for National Economic Strategy Pavel Hoffmann, Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, Czech Minister for the administration of national property and its privatization Tomas Jezek and Slovak Deputy Prime Ministers Vladimir Ondrus and Jozef Kucerak.

Also present at the meeting, which took place behind closed doors, was chairman of the Slovak National Council (parliament) Frantisek Miklosko.

Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said at a briefing for journalists held after the meeting that they discussed Czechoslovakia's economy and the economic reform.

Jozef Kucerak added that all participants agreed that the procedure of the economic reform in the framework of the federation must be identical and underlined that a certain trend at "softening" the reform in the Slovak Republic must be overcome as it is a trend of the populist policy of those who strive for it.

Vladimir Ondrus denied the existence of strong separatist tendencies in Slovakia and spoke of the will of the majority of the Slovak citizens to live in a common federation. He pointed out that some specific features of Slovakia's economy must not be forgotten, e.g. the conversion of armament plants.

At the end of the briefing Jozef Kucerak said that the economic reform, including the growth of prices and unemployment, is being carried out precisely in harmony with the blueprint.

Slovakia's Panis Delivers 52d Anniversary Address

LD1503084291 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Report on speech by Federal Assembly Deputy Stanislav Panis in Bratislava on 14 March]

[Excerpts] Celebrations marking the 52d anniversary of the declaration of an independent state culminated this afternoon on Bratislava's Slovak National Uprising Square with a national rally. The meeting, which declared the demands of Slovak unity and the independence of the Slovak Republic from the federation, was organized by Slovak National Unity. So much for the agency report. Our editor, (Jan Janosi), has more details:

[(Janos)] [passage omitted] Now, to move on to the rally itself: Some 15,000 people attended the rally on Slovak National Uprising Square, and, during the singing of Hlinka's anthem, they raised the 1939 state symbols and president's standards. Then we heard a speech by Dr. Jozef Tisa in April 1945 on Vienna radio. From the rostrum, we also heard these words: The nation is more important than the state. If the state does not serve the nation, then away with the state.

The keynote speech at the rally was made by Federal Assembly Deputy Stanislav Panis. He criticized Public Against Violence [VPN] as a totalitarian movement. The Slovak National Council [SNR] was also criticized for adopting the language law. Chants of a Slovak state, a Slovak Army were also heard from the crowd. Needless to say, some unflattering remarks about President Havel were also made. Panis asked why the SNR was not in session today in a festively decorated building honoring this anniversary. On the Slovak state, he had this to say: They are still using the phrase the so-called Slovak state, but today the same applies with respect to the federation. Also in the firing line were the Castle, the luxurious cars, the uniforms, and the whole paraphernalia of office. These, said Panis, were commensurate with hungry Slovak stomachs. He went on to criticize the dispatch of the chemical unit to the Persian Gulf. How, he said, can you talk about political maturity and, in the same breath, talk about how others are experiencing great loss of life in the conflict while we had none? In his speech, he also supported the right of the Moravian nation to its own Moravian state, with an eagle on its coat of arms. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, to make it here in time for the program, I do not have any futher details about the rally, but others were also expected to speak. At the end, the rally was expected to adopt a memorandum, which I cannot tell you about, because, as I was told a few minutes ago, the program still has not addressed the memorandum.

More Details on Panis Address

LD1503085191 Prague CTK in English 2246 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 14 (CTK)—"For the Slovaks March 14, 1939 is and will be one of the greatest and most sacred days in the nation's history", Federal Assembly (parliament) Deputy Stanislav Panis told participants in a rally here today called "National Celebrations of the 52nd Anniversary of the Declaration of Independent and Sovereign Slovak Republic".

The rally, attended by fewer people than the demonstration held by Matica Slovenska (Slovak Cultural Institution) on Monday, was organized by the "Slovak National Unity".

Panis, member of the preparatory committee of the Unity, described current Slovakia as a "colonial domain of Prague" and the policy of the ruling parties and movements as "Pragocentrist". His speech was often interrupted by chants "Long Live Slovakia", "Enough of Havel" and "Glory to Tiso" (president of the Slovak state in 1939-45, executed as war criminal after World War Two).

"The Slovak nation must no longer be prevented from erecting its double-cross as a symbol of its statehood", Panis said.

Participants in the rally marking the 52nd anniversary of the declaration of the independent Slovak republic adopted a memorandum demanding the declaration of the sovereignty of laws of the Slovak parliament on Slovak territory, the calling of new elections to the legislative bodies, the declaration of a moratorium on Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus's "variant" of economic reform and a revision of the court trial of president of the wartime pro-Nazi Slovak state Jozef Tiso.

New Group Warns of Leftist 'Putsch' in Slovakia

AU1403144691 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Mar 91 p 2

["(sc)"-signed report: "The Soviet Consul's Activity"]

[Text] Prague—A report that the Soviet consul in Bratislava traveled around the districts asking suggestive questions about why Vladimir Meciar was not elected Public Against Violence movement chairman, the comeback attempt by communist and cryptocommunist forces in Slovakia, and—in this connection—the attempt to misuse the general public there were, among other things, elements of the discussion at yesterday's news conference held in the Federal Assembly building.

Federal Assembly Deputy Daniel Kroupa, a representative of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), which organized the news conference, informed journalists—among other things—about the alliance agreement with the Club of Committed Non-Party Members [KAN]. He also presented new ODA members. Among them are CSFR Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, Deputy Foreign Minister Vojtech Vagner, Czech Deputy Culture Minister Jiri Hejlek, and others.

"The issue in Slovakia involves a left-wing putsch similar to the one in 1948," said D. Kroupa. In this connection, there was a very specific discussion on economic reform and on its disparagement in Slovakia. The ODA and KAN support Vaclav Klaus' radical reform and, in this sphere, stand by the federative, constitutional and legal arrangement.

ECHO Editor: Obroda Wants To Seize Power

AU1403190391 Prague CTK in English 1212 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague, March 13 (CTK)—Editor-in-chief of the Bratislava weekly of Slovak students "ECHO" Milan J. Zitny alleged on Czechoslovak Television last night that the "Obroda" club of former reform communists stands behind the current crisis developments in Slovakia.

Speaking in the news program "Events and Commentaries", Zitny said that with his speech on Slovak Television on March 3 when Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar rejected to deliver his regular address, which he said was to be censored, Slovak External Relations Minister Milan Knazko opened a second stage of the "latent process of change of state power". "Political stands were made transparent and Prime Minister Meciar's goals were indicated," Zitny said. In his appearance, Knazko pushed for Slovakia's sovereignty.

Together with a group of his supporters, Meciar left the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement last week, forming a new platform that calls itself "VPN For Democratic Slovakia". It seeks Slovakia's full sovereignty and slowing of the economic reform now being implemented in Czechoslovakia.

Zitny said that Czechoslovak National Assembly Deputy Stanislav Panis together with his "Slovak National Unity" group prepares in Bratislava tomorrow celebrations of the 52nd anniversary of the foundation of the Slovak state (a Nazi Germany satellite 1939-1945). On this occasion, as well as on the following day, separatists are to "spontaneously" call for the declaration of a Slovak state. On March 16, supporters of Slovakia's independence are to be taken to Bratislava from all Slovakia. The declaration of the superiority of the laws of the Slovak Republic over the federal ones must be done before March 19 when the names of former secret police (StB) agents are to be revealed in the Czechoslovak legislature, Zitny said.

According to him, the politically strongest stream which unconditionally supports Prime Minister Meciar is the

"Obroda" (Revival) Club which associates reform communists expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after the Soviet invasion of the country in August 1968. Obroda was founded in 1988.

"By its conspiratorial network, Obroda was very well prepared for the November (1989) revolution, and after its outbreak, it overtly infiltrated VPN as part of the movement. It filled the most important posts while inconspicuously but consistently pursuing its political goals from 1968," Zitny said.

According to him, an important pawn in Obroda's plans is the Slovak Ministry of the Interior. Specialists are being dismissed from various security bodies that are under the ministry's jurisdiction and are being replaced by former "nomenklatura" cadres and former StB staff, Zitny said.

"This is unequivocal preparation for seizure of power in Slovakia by Obroda", he added.

Havel Discusses Alleged Coup Plans With Students

LD1503095691 Prague CTK in English 2239 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, on a one-day working visit to Slovakia, met today Slovak students union representatives including editors of the weekly "ECHO" whose chief editor alleged Tuesday that the "Obroda" club associating former reform communists was behind the current crisis developments in Slovakia.

Presidential Spokesman Michal Zantovsky commented on the meeting that no other facts except those mentioned by the "ECHO" chief editor had been presented to the president. The editors said they had more material in store but many things have not yet been proved and would be published only after being verified and passed also to the legislative bodies.

Gal Says 'Time Has Come' for Referendum

AU1403185391 Prague CTK in English 2145 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Prague, March 12 (CTK)—Time has come for a referendum in which the will of the Slovaks, Czechs, Moravians and Silesians to live in a common state will be shown, chairman of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence (VPN) Fedor Gal said on Czechoslovak television tonight.

In this connection he voiced his conviction that there exist geopolitical, cultural, economic, social, friendly and informal reasons for the preservation and development of the Czechoslovak Federation.

Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa said that the fate of the Slovak nation should be decided by deputies who have been elected in free elections and not by any other officials, demonstrations and meetings.

Chairman of the Slovak National Council Frantisek Miklosko underlined that if the stream demanding the declaration of Slovak sovereignty accelerates the events the Federal Assembly (parliament) can approve the law on a referendum very quickly. He added that such a quick step might escalate tension in society.

CSL, CSS Hold Opposite Referendum Views

LD1403112291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] regards a referendum as a last resort. Its statement says that the optimal solution regarding further existence of a Czechoslovak state would be a decision made by legally elected supreme legislative bodies. The Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] regards a referendum as the only way out of the present situation.

OF Left-Center Deputies on 'Political Tension'

LD1403171191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] We will now tell you the standpoint adopted by the Civic Forum [OF] left-center group of Federal Assembly deputies. It will be read out by Deputy Dr. Ivan Fisera.

[Fisera] There has been a long and deliberate attempt to bring political tension in the CSFR to a head. It is not only the state unity of the CSFR that is disintegrating, but the unity of leading political forces too. Attempts of this nature have occurred even in those political parties and movements that could contribute to calming and integrating our sick society. The governments are also being split in terms of their views, and their attention is being diverted away from economic, social, security, and ecological problems of key importance. People are being driven from one political crisis to another and are given no time to catch their breath. Citizens' faith in democratic institutions, especially in representative corps, is being systematically weakened. Democracy is threatened. The Czechoslovak statehood is threatened; there is a long-term threat to the Slovak statehood and perhaps even the Czech statehood. At this moment, there are no values of greater importance that should be defended. The time has come for all people who believe in reason, cooperation, and mutual understanding to quickly find a path of rapproachment and jointly seek practical and realistic steps to halt the danger of political, economic, and security breakdown; to alleviate the most grave social and ecological problems in the whole of the CSFR quickly; and to enhance the basic human solidarity of all its citizens.

Therefore, we are calling on President Vaclav Havel to open working negotiations with the representatives of all forces that are willing to approach a solution to the

current dangerous situation without prejudice and without preliminary conditions, which would help to work out and underwrite a program to diffuse the political situation in our state. I would like to stress that the list of signatories includes, for example, Ladislav Lis, Albert Cerny, Tomas Hradilek, Petr Uhl, Josef Spacek, Frantisek Samalik and other Federal Assembly deputies.

Civic Democratic Party Comments on Federal Issue

LD1403221191 Prague CTK in English 2144 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 14 (CTK)—the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) said today it favoured a federal setup based on the territorial principle as a federation based on the national principle was vulnerable.

Member of the ODS Preparatory Committee Miroslav Macek told a press conference that ODS does not reject the idea of the country's division provided the federation does not function as it should. [sentence as received]

ODS emerged from the special congress of the most influential force in the Czech Republic, the Civic Forum, on February 23 when the movement split into two parts, the Civic Democratic Party and the Civic Movement.

Referring to yesterday's allegations by the chief editor of the Bratislava student weekly "ECHO" that preparations were being made in Slovakia by the "Obroda" club, associating 1968 reform communists, Macek rejected such opinions, saying that the present tension in Slovakia was not caused only by communists. He added that there were many more factors influencing developments in Slovakia but did not elaborate.

HSD-SMS Favors Federal Setup

AU1403163391 Prague CTK in English 2048 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Prague, March 12 (CTK)—The constitutional setup based on the territorial and civic principle, i.e., a federal setup of Czechoslovakia, is the final aim of the Self-Government Democracy Movement - Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS), Chairman of its Parliamentary Group Jan Kadlec said here today.

He told newsmen after a meeting between Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Czech National Council (parliament) deputies elected in Moravia that the position of Moravia should be laid down in a Moravia-Silesia constitution.

He referred to Havel's draft federal constitution saying it proceeds from the fact that the Slovak side does not agree with a tripartite federation and insists on a federation based on the national principle.

Kadlec confirmed that the meeting, which he initiated, was an informative one and that the main item on its agenda was the position of Moravia within Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic. The Moravian Deputies informed the president of the situation in Moravia, which occupies one third of the territory of the Czech Republic with a population of four million, and the president briefed the deputies about progress in work on the federal constitution, Kadlec said.

Czech Reaction to Slovak Sovereignty Viewed

AU1403125591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Mar 91 p 1

[Jan Fuele commentary: "Expressions and Impressions"]

[Text] "The future constitutional setup in Czechoslovakia can by no means be decided in the streets...." Had we read this sentence three years ago, it would not have come as a big surprise to us. Only—we read it yesterday and it came from Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova. Her statement was a reaction to the Bratislava rally [for Slovak sovereignty] organized by the Slovak National Heritage Foundation [on 11 March]. Admittedly, the most diverse views could be heard at the rally, but it certainly did not decide the state's future constitutional setup. After all, the speakers, without a single exception, spoke only about a *sovereign* Slovakia. For a lawyer and a former Czech minister of justice, this should be a stronger signal than for parts of the crowd that possibly did not want to, or were unable to, make a distinction between an *independent* and a *sovereign* Slovakia.

If only the failure to understand this distinction were the only motive for [Presidential Spokesman] Mr. Michal Zantovsky plotting "a new coalition of 1968 reform communists, present communists, and overt separatists who reminisce about the [1939 to 1945] Slovak state as a golden period of Slovak history." To make the picture of the bogeyman of the future development in Slovakia complete, reform socialism adorned with the label "national" is made out to be the connecting link between all these diverse currents.

The noise of the last few hours is only another piece of evidence that, despite our long coexistence, we [the Czechs and Slovaks] do not know each other very well. The Czech National Council and Slovak National Council Presidiums have not met since fall, the Slovaks are losing confidence in the Federal Assembly, and the reaction of colleagues from Czech newspapers to the situation [in Slovakia] is marked either by helplessness or by irritation. Neither the "street" nor those who assess its conduct should confuse impressions with expressions. That is equally important for both of them.

Besides, the confusion of the two does not make a good impression.

Calfa Interviewed on Independence Issue

AU1503114591 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 13 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by an unidentified CTK reporter on 12 March; place not given: "Democracy Equals Legality"]

[Text] "I see the principal problem in the demand presented to the Slovak National Council, that is, to the deputies elected in the free elections. They have a mandate to make decisions within the framework of the election programs of their parties and movements—however, no political force had Czechoslovakia's liquidation in its program," Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa said yesterday in an interview with a CTK reporter, in reaction to current developments in Slovakia.

The prime minister mentioned that the Slovak National Council has a jurisdiction given to it by the existing constitution. The calls for Slovakia's separation force the Slovak National Council to behave unconstitutionally. He stated that calls to disobey the law are involved, while the international community expects—if we want to be accepted into this community—democratic behavior from us, that is, behavior based on the law. In this connection, he also mentioned the 130 Federal Assembly deputies elected in Slovakia who, to win a mandate from the same voters, needed more votes than the Slovak National Council deputies. "I am unsettled by the fact that, under the guise of calls for freedom, an unconstitutional and forcible procedure is, in fact, being demanded. By this, we rank ourselves among the countries that solve their problems undemocratically and unlawfully.

"All the public opinion polls so far have shown that the Slovak nation desires to coexist with the Czech nation in separate republics making up one common federation. If the calls for independence are so loud, then the question of a referendum needs to be seriously dealt with. Its results must be respected, however—that is, if a majority were in favor of independence, then it would be necessary to accept it with all the ensuing consequences. If the majority does not accept this, however, we would have firm evidence of the Slovak nation's will and, on this basis, we could consider this problem to have been solved, and we could devote our time to other urgent tasks."

The prime minister also pointed to the fact that "a declaration of Slovakia's independence would determine a priori the state formation of the Czech Republic. It is impossible to separate from a two-nation federation, since by doing so, the federation would be automatically negated.

"Emotions will not help solve this problem. The national representatives need to hold a serious session and try to find a solution that will help the nation contribute toward its development. Everything else is secondary. I am of the opinion that the path proposed in Slovakia is not a democratic one that would have good prospects and lead to raising the Slovak nation's prestige."

The prime minister was also surprised by the fact that the national voices are being heard from people who have already made an attempt at reform, but on socialist principles. It remains questionable what kind of future would await Slovakia and what would prevail in the republic then.

Meciar on Politics as Boxing Match, Ambitions

AU1403131591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Mar 91 p 13

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by unidentified MLADY SVET reporter, "conducted prior to the Public Against Violence Assembly in Topolcany": "The Price of the Function Is Too High"—reprinted from issue No. 10/1991 of the Czech weekly MLADY SVET]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [MLADY SVET] In what respect do you find the federation in its present form, after the passage of the law on power sharing, unsatisfactory?

[Meciar] By passing the power-sharing law, we have essentially rid the federation of the management of enterprises. The only reason for doing that, however, was to subsequently rid the republics of their management as well. There are many more gaps in our legal arrangement. We have not resolved the problem of the shape of the Federal Assembly, of the formation of the government, and of the position of the president. What sort of links are there today between National Council bodies and the Federal Assembly? None at all. The standpoint of the Slovak National Council is worth less than the vote of a single [Federal Assembly] deputy. Or let me give you another example. There are three governments, but what sort of flow of information is there between them? None at all, or a very primitive one—at the level of the 19th century. Another problem concerns the selection of people for federal bodies. The system whereby someone in Slovakia knows Johnny or Mike and therefore takes him to Prague as his deputy must not be perpetuated any longer.

[MLADY SVET] Is it true that Slovakia's attitude toward Slovaks working in federal bodies in Prague is a bit reserved or is that just our impression?

[Meciar] Being a federal politician requires detailed knowledge of both parts of the republic. Just as we criticize someone for knowing nothing about the situation in Slovakia, we consider it equally bad when someone comes to [work in the federal bodies in] Prague without knowing the situation in Bohemia. We did not always manage to send our best people to Prague, and I am not sure that we are succeeding in doing so today. This is why there is an aversion to some of them even in

Bohemia. I believe, however, that when a true personality appears on the federal level who asserts the interests of both republics, we will not care about the nationality of the mother that gave birth to him.

[MLADY SVET] In an interview for LITERARNY TYZDENNIK you said: "I do not forget many personal attacks, I remember them without reacting and replying to them." When one thinks this statement through to the end, one almost becomes afraid of you....

[Meciar] He who becomes involved in politics must be prepared to face the fact that politics is like a fight. You deal out some blows and you receive some. I accept that. What I do not accept is unfair play, for example, when information that is not true is deliberately published, the aim of which is not to resolve some problem or say something about someone on the basis of facts but to besmirch him in the eyes of the public. I disapproved strongly of the articles that MLADA FRONTA DNES published about me. They did not ask about the purpose of the federation but whether Meciar would be president of the republic or not. I assure you that the post of prime minister exhausts me so much that if I could leave without disgrace, in some normal fashion, I would do so. I do not have the ambition to become president of Slovakia. The weekly FORUM, in turn, primitively cast doubt on me because I dared to study at the time of the screenings [during the "normalization era" in early seventies]. They were not interested in the price I had to pay for it. While I studied I worked as a steel worker and I spent every vacation studying for exams. I could not ask for time off at the times of exams because they would have fired me if they discovered that I was studying. [passage omitted] When someone declares that my views are bad, there is nothing wrong with it. Our fight can be very tough. I used to box some time ago. I can even be knocked out, but let it happen after an honest fight. [passage omitted]

Dubcek Discusses Independence Referendum

AU1403163291 Prague CTK in English 1446 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Rome, March 12 (CTK correspondent)— Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek says in today's "IL MESSAGGERO" here referendum on Slovakia's independence, i.e., on the eventual dissolution of the (Czechoslovak) federation should not be held now when the country is seeking European Community membership.

The referendum was favored yesterday by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. He reacted to mounting separatism in Slovakia, the smaller of the two constituent parts of Czechoslovakia, triggered off by a split in the strongest Slovak Government partner, Public Against Violence (VPN), last week.

Dubcek, leader of the 1968 communist reform in Czechoslovakia, will pay a three-day official visit to Italy starting tomorrow. He told IL MESSAGGERO he supports full development of Slovak identity, but thinks this can be attained by constitutional means.

According to Dubcek, nationalistic passions are a vestige of the previous authoritarian regime which did not allow full assertion of the rights of nations. He voiced the conviction the Czechs and Slovaks as well as national ethnic minorities wish to live in a common federative state.

Replying to a question why nationalism has erupted in many other countries in which the so-called real socialism failed, Dubcek said what was termed as socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was in fact no socialism. It was a political Stalinist model exported by the Soviet Union to other countries. In the wake of the fall of this totalitarian system, movements' looking backward rather than forward have emerged, Dubcek said.

On the situation in the Soviet Union, Dubcek said Gorbachev faces a difficult situation, the most complex problem being the nationality one. In Dubcek's opinion difficulties in the Soviet union are not generated by the restructuring of the economy and society as claimed by orthodox communists and some generals, but by the inheritance from the past.

USSR Denies Statement About Slovak Situation

AU1403174891 Prague CTK in English 2059 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)—The Soviet Embassy here said today that statements attributed to Soviet Consul in Bratislava V. Orlov that the USSR would in no case protest against the disintegration of Czechoslovakia "were in fact not uttered".

The Embassy statement referred to Slovak parliament Deputy Marcel Stryko who was reported by Monday's independent daily "LIDOVE NOVINY" to have said that Mr. Orlov was familiar with the situation in Slovakia and had told him that the USSR would in no case protest against Czechoslovakia's disintegration. Stryko also said Orlov told him he had been surprised that the Public Against Violence movement (VPN) had not elected such a skilled politician as Vladimir Meciar (Slovak Prime Minister) its leader at the VPN congress in Topolcany last month.

Orlov denied having made these statements in a letter to the newspapers "LIDOVE NOVINY" and "VEREJNOST" that published them.

Meciar Sends Open Letter to VPN Clubs

AU1403123391 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 12 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Open letter sent by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to Public Against Violence movement clubs in Slovakia on 11 March]

[Text] Our movement is going through a turning point in its history. It is necessary to undertake new activity and to adopt points of view on the events taking place within the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement. First and foremost, this should be done directly among the movement's members in VPN clubs.

It is difficult to find one's bearings in the flood of reports; therefore, allow me to brief you—from what I have been able to find out—on the newly established situation.

The initiative that is being established within the movement is dynamic and critical—but it is not directed against VPN principles or against the "A Chance for Slovakia" program. It has several aims. The most important one is to bridge the artificial gap between our program's civic and national concepts. These two concepts are not mutually exclusive. By adopting a real national program and by actively implementing it, the VPN can prevent the idea of national sovereignty from being abused and devalued. Democratic and national currents are flowing in one direction; anyone who wishes to place one against the other is making a mistake.

The second aim of the "For a Democratic Slovakia" initiative is to provide a defense mechanism against diverting the VPN's political orientation toward the right. As you know, the principles contained in the original election programs have recently been abandoned for various reasons, and right-wing political groupings are beginning to play a direct role. It is not certain, however, whether citizens can tolerate such a radical trend or whether high prices and unemployment will go beyond the limit where they can be defended. There is no time for clarification, citizens do not have time to adapt themselves so they can come to terms with the changes, and conditions for domestic entrepreneurs have not been sufficiently prepared . For these reasons, the initiative supports the VPN's original political line. This was a broad-based line of the political center—not just the right wing or left wing.

The initiative's third aim is to revitalize the internal democracy and open policy we started with. This is an attempt to quickly rid ourselves of every phenomenon that was typical of the apparatus belonging to the previous powers. This is the legacy of totalitarianism within us.

The incipient ideological differentiation within the VPN should be dealt with by abolishing one ideological wing—the nationally oriented one. This is an erroneous course of action and would benefit neither the movement nor society. Let us approach this issue differently.

Every movement regenerates itself by returning to its original roots and values. I appeal to all clubs to begin a discussion on our situation and on our future orientation, a discussion in which a point of view could be adopted on the above-mentioned topics. Let us meet again and express our point of view.

Our movement does not have an antecedent in Slovakia. For the first time, along with broad sectors of the Slovak public, we rose up against the violence of communist power and triumphed. Today there are many political parties and movements made up of our former supporters. The VPN has a chance to begin a healthy internal crystallization process that will also establish this philosophical stream's place on our political scene. If other platforms—for example, national democratic, right-wing, liberal, and others—exist beside each other within this movement, there will be no problem. The important thing is that the leadership should not deviate the whole movement's political orientation in contradiction to the election program and the membership base's views.

In my opinion, representatives of various opinions should make their views known in the press so it is apparent what the ideological differences are and so this clarification of views does not lead to personal attacks and slander.

The discussion's conclusions could be aired at a pan-Slovak meeting involving representatives from all VPN clubs. This would, I think, best of all complete this phase of crystallization within the VPN.

Sovereignty Seen Compatible With Federation

AU1403143891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Mar 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Common State Not at Any Price; Slovakia's Resolute Voice Has Not Yet Been Heard"]

[Text] Slovakia's resolute voice on how relations between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic should be democratically arranged has not yet been heard, even though supporters of meeting-type democracy [mitingova demokracia] are adamantly convinced that this has happened. This can only happen in a nationwide referendum of all citizens, as suggested by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar at the Republican Assembly of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN]. In contrast to some other speakers, he stressed there that one should "complete the building of Slovak statehood" and that the reply to the important question of the future of Czech-Slovak coexistence ought to be given by all residents of Slovakia by means of a national referendum.

It is positive in this context that President Vaclav Havel has embraced the idea of a referendum. His active role in the constitutional process bears out that the key to the fate of Czech-Slovak coexistence lies in Prague Castle. Despite this positive formulation addressed to the president, it needs to be said that Michal Zantovsky, the president's press spokesman, gives priority to sources of information that warp Prague politicians' view of the current internal political developments in Slovakia. Other advisers of the [seat of the president at Prague]

Castic, along with the majority of Czech political representatives, fail to comprehend all the aspects of the complex processes taking place in Slovakia. They remain captives of anachronistic Czechoslovakist stereotypes and of one-sided information about the Slovak situation that they receive from the privileged source of official VPN circles.

A model case of the type of ignorance described above is the Czech perception of Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky. For the political public in Prague he has remained a symbol of an independent Slovak state, even though he seeks to achieve Slovakia's position as an equal partner in the federation, not through the breakup of Czechoslovakia, but through its transformation into an "open community of nations and ethnic minorities that will later assume their place in the broader European community as partners with equal rights and of equal value." What more can Czech representatives expect from a Slovak politician than the categorical assertion that "the Czechs are our most natural strategic allies?"

Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart will, perhaps, be able to appreciate Meciar's and Carnogursky's pragmatic philosophy of Czech-Slovak relations. Even though he expressly stressed that "we want a common state, but not at any price," he did not react to the Slovak efforts to declare Slovakia's sovereignty nervously. His readiness to come to Slovakia and hold talks, in particular, with the new political initiatives provides the guarantee that the Czech-Slovak misunderstandings of the last few days will be overcome so that Slovakia's sovereign partnership does not appear as an obstacle to bilaterally beneficial Czech-Slovak coexistence.

Italian Prime Minister Departs After Visit

LD1403112191 Prague CTK in English 1029 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 14 (CTK)—Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti departed this morning at the end of a two-day visit at the invitation of Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

Shortly before his flight home Andreotti met with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier for a working breakfast where the two officials discussed issues in the Middle East, Central Europe, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Early this morning the Italian prime minister took part in a mass led by Bishop Vaclav Frantisek Lobkowicz held in the Prague archbishop's private chapel. After mass Andreotti met with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague, to inform him about current events in Italy, including a growing interest in religion.

Andreotti's agenda yesterday included talks with President Havel, Prime Minister Calfa, and Parliamentary Deputy Chairperson Zdenek Jicinsky.

Calfa Comments on Visit

LD1403171691 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 14 (CTK)—While recognising that what happens in Czechoslovakia is its own affair, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti expressed hope that its cooperation with the EC would help it to find a method of progressing through consensus, mutual agreement and conciliation, said Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa today.

Shortly after the Italian prime minister departed this morning, Calfa shared Andreotti's comments on the tense situation in Slovakia with CTK, describing his Italian counterpart as an exceptionally experienced European politician.

According to the Czechoslovak prime minister, Andreotti noted the calls for the sovereignty of Slovakia by some Slovak politicians and intellectuals and wondered whether the country realises that after 70 years of existence, there is a danger that the Czechoslovak State may become extinct.

In other business, the Italian prime minister pledged that his government would have a positive attitude towards a Czechoslovak request for the transportation of natural gas from Algeria across Italian territory.

Dienstbier Assesses Visit

LD1403153191 Prague CTK in Englisn 1433 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told CTK after his meeting with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti here today Italy and other European coutries wish Czechoslovakia to be a constructive, not destabilizing element of the Helsinki process.

Dienstbier also said an agreemment between Middle East countries and the anti-Husayn coalition states on disarmament or at least discontinuation of arms supplies to the region would have economic impact on both Italy and Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia, an arms exporter, sold weapons also to Iraq and some other Arab countries. But in February Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Jiri Brabec said no weapons had been exported to Iraq since 1988, and no weapons were now being sent to other countries of the region either.

Dienstbier said there are possibilities for bilateral cooperation with Italy and also within the Pentagonal, which associates in addition to Czechoslovakia and Italy also Austria, Hungary and Yugoslavia in conversion of the armament industry.

The Czechoslovak minister appreciated the support given by Italy to Czechoslovakia in its effort at association with the European Community.

Asked whether three contacts between Czechoslovak and Italian officials at various levels within one week are coordinated, Dienstbier said there is no need for coordination as long as they are in harmony with Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.

On March 10-13 Italy hosted Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and Czechoslovak Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek arrived in Rome yesterday for a three-day visit to Italy.

Reportage on Dubcek Visit to Italy

WA1403183291

For Czechoslovak and Italian reportage on the visit by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek and a Federal Assembly delegation to Italy at the invitation of Italian Chamber of Deputies President Iotti, including reports on his talks with Italian parliamentary officials, see the Italy section of the 14 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Dienstbier, U.S. Experts Discuss Economy

AU1403184391 Prague CTK in English 2101 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)— Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance discussed here today the situation in the Middle East after the Gulf war and the question of arms supplies to the region, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry told CTK.

Cyrus Vance stressed the need for preventing uncontrolled arms supplies to the Middle East which he described as a sensitive part of the world.

Dienstbier pointed to the necessity of an agreement between arms producing and arms supplying countries to prevent a future destabilization of the situation in the region. He also recalled the complicated problem of conversion of Slovak plants producing arms which has a very negative social and financial impact in Slovakia.

Cyrus Vance who is now chairman of the board of governors of the federal reserve system is currently in Czechoslovakia at the head of a delegation of experts from the financial services volunteer corps.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister informed the American business delegation of the current complicated political situation in Czechoslovakia.

Technical assistance of experts from the financial services volunteer corps in establishing a modern accountancy system and a capital market, and in privatization in Czechoslovakia was discussed by Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus and experts from the U.S. non-profit organization.

The delegation was also received by Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy to discuss the Czechoslovak system of banking and credits, the situation in the Czechoslovak economy in the period of transition to a market economy, the course of privatization and other economic issues.

Briefing on Necessity of Federal Army, Reforms

LD1303151991 Prague CTK in English 1402 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Defence Minister Antonin Rasek told a regular Army briefing here today that an overwhelming majority of Czechoslovak Army career soldiers is convinced of the necessity of a federal Czechoslovak Army.

Answering the question of how the present emancipation movement in Slovakia is reflected among Czechoslovak Army soldiers undergoing military service, Rasek said they do not seem to be active in this respect.

He pointed out that the Czechoslovak Army is being built as a federal subject. In his opinion, Czechoslovakia's disintegration into the Czech and the Slovak Republics would bring about serious organizational problems and would weaken the defence capability of these two republics. Rasek said that Slovak officers prevail in the Czechoslovak Army command.

When speaking about the disintegration of Czechoslovakia Rasek referred to the recent efforts in Slovakia, the smaller of the two republics with a population of five million, which aimed at declaring Slovakia's sovereignty.

Czechoslovak Defence Ministry press spokesman Petr Tax said that the Czechoslovak Army was to have 185,721 soldiers, 103,937 of whom were to serve in ground forces, on January 1, 1991. In fact, 90 per cent of the planned number of career soldiers and 70 per cent of the planned number of soldiers undergoing military service serve in the Czechoslovak Army, Tax said, adding that with ground forces it is only 67 per cent.

On January 1, 1990 there were 198,154 soldiers in the Czechoslovak Army, 122,442 of whom served in ground forces. The Czechoslovak Army is constituted mostly by soldiers undergoing military service, i.e. men of 18 years of age who start military service lasting for 18 months.

The incomplete Czechoslovak Army quotas are caused by preliminary discharges from military service, for instance due to family reasons, or by the use of a law on civilian service.

Rasek spoke about a reform of Czechoslovak military education. As the Czechoslovak Army uses Soviet technology only those who operate it should study in the Soviet Union. Czechoslovak soldiers will also study in Western armies' facilities. Czechoslovakia has concluded concrete agreements with Germany and France and wants to establish contacts also with the United States in this respect.

Former Interior Minister's Interpellation Answered

AU1403132491 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Mar 91 pp 1,6

["(ert)"-signed report: "The Addressee: Deputy Sacher"]

[Text] The Czech and Slovak Interior Ministries have a particular influence on the security situation. The federal minister, however, bears political responsibility for internal order without being able to actually or legally influence both republican ministries. A feeling of insecurity and destabilization can arise from this situation.

The introduction to Minister Langos' eight-page reply to Deputy Sacher's widely publicized interpellation could be summarized this way. In view of the fact that his bitter criticism was mainly directed toward the Federal Interior Ministry Technical Administration, Engineer Langos devotes most attention to it in his report. We have excerpted the following text from his comprehensive reply.

The Technical Administration was established in 1977, it employed 500 people, and resembled a secret socialist enterprise without specific objectives. It manufactured everything possible—from badges and chairs to holographs. It was involved in the development of high- and low-frequency technology, precision optics, chemistry, and mechanical engineering. It simultaneously "dealt with"—approximately—350 assignments, some of which had been being "dealt with" for more than 10 years.

A "model" example of the administration's activity was the government assignment called "Shield" (1986-90) aimed at preventing information leaks from computers by means of radiation. Finding a solution to this problem—which had long been resolved by the rest of the world—cost our taxpayers 100 million korunas [kcs] and the results are not even marketable. A similar rarity was the state research assignment "Vitkov" (1986-94) oriented toward ciphering technology and ciphering materials. It should have cost kcs52.5 million; it was suspended in March and only a tiny part of the giant project is of any use.

Other projects were, for example, the "Antonin" and "Lake" assignments. "Antonin" is a portable attache case for secretly photographing documents. Its development cost kcs2.4 million and, during the years 1985-88, 200 of them were manufactured at a cost of kcs20.6 million. They are still in the administration's storage room. "Lake" is a machine for opening correspondence en masse without leaving any visible signs that it has been tampered with. In essence, this is a steam table that should have been located in all larger post offices. The prototype cost kcs739,000. The assignment called "Record" was also remarkable. It involved tape recorders for large-scale eavesdropping on citizens. If this project had not been suspended, it would have cost us kcs158 million.

It has been decided that, for the moment, the Technical Administration will work for the Federal Police Force's Criminological Institute and for departments dealing with documentation (passports, ID cards, driving licenses, and so on). After evaluating the situation within the administration, the deputy minister invited (with the minister's approval) two experts to be his advisers. They are Mr. V. Kozeny, a CSFR citizen, who studied at Harvard and who, among other things, works in one of the Federal Government's Legislative Committees and Mr. J. Pallas, a Swedish citizen, who studied at the University of Uppsala. Both have been briefed on the regulations dealing the protection of state secrets and have signed them.

The value of the Technical Administration's equipment amounts to kcs213 million. However, the value of the work carried out in this unit is, to say the least, problematic. Work was done here for the former State Security and the KGB. The question is whether we can positively appreciate the value of such work.

Regarding other points mentioned in the interpellation, Minister Langos, among other things, stated the following:

The minister has direct control over the Federal Interior Ministry surveillance service, which has complete knowledge about all surveillance operations. This "shadowing branch" operates as a service. It has no special operational function. Regarding the Federal Information Service, doubts have been expressed about its personnel. It is necessary to state that the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees have recently set up a commission aimed at controlling its activity until a law is adopted. As far as the intelligence service's (Federal Interior Ministry Office for Foreign Contacts and Information) personnel are concerned, it is not without interest that its director—a member of the Confederation of Political Prisoners—spent 14 years in prison. A few days ago, he was conferred with a high honor from the U.S. Congress for his activity in 1947-48.

The Interior Ministry is the target of increasing attacks at a time when it is undergoing extensive reorganization intended to ensure that it will not be politically abused and will be capable of guaranteeing the defense and security of our state and citizens. In comparison with the past, it is more open and, despite the fact that it is undergoing complicated changes, its individual units function properly. he Interior Ministry's activity was particularly apparent during the Persian Gulf War when a Special Security Team was established within the ministry.

Minister Objects to Federal Fuel Price Policy

AU1203124591

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 6 March on page 3 carries an 800-word article by Minister Josef Vavrousek, chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment, entitled "The Environment and Energy Prices." In the article, in which he examines the relationship between energy prices and environmental protection, Vavrousek expresses objections to the Federal Government's fuel price policy. He says that the wholesale and retail prices of "all forms of energy" (that is, including electricity) should have been raised at the start of the economic reform because any delay aggravates not only the economic but also the ecological situation. He also argues that the extent of the price increase should "reflect the degree to which the consumer can realistically react to the price development."

In this context Vavrousek criticizes the Ministry of Finance proposal for raising energy prices, which is concerned only with the elimination of current subsidies. Under this proposal, electricity prices would remain unchanged because electricity is generated rather cheaply and the current electricity price is not subsidized, while the price of heat would go up 324 percent. Vavrousek objects that this price increase "would only reinforce the position of monopoly suppliers of heat" and would not provide them with any incentives to eliminate the "enormous losses" in heat generation and distribution. Besides, heat consumers would be unable to adjust their behavior because the centrally heated apartments in the new housing developments are not equipped with any heat measuring and control devices. Moreover, because the price of electricity would remain unchanged, there would be an "uncalled-for transfer of demand." Vavrousek also cautions that the relatively low electricity production costs are deceptive because damage to the environment resulting from coal mining and coal burning is not included in the production costs.

The minister, therefore, appeals to the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economy to cooperate with environmentalists and "find such a variant of raising the prices of all forms of energy as would stimulate energy conservation and the development of ecologically compatible methods of energy production and consumption."

Import Surcharge To Be Amended on 1 Apr

AU1403144391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Mar 91 p 1

[Interview with Engineer Ladislav Adamec, head of a Federal Finance Ministry department, by "(do)" -signed reporter—place and date not given]

[Text] [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Will there be a change to the 20 percent import surcharge?

[Adamec] This surcharge is disliked both by Czechoslovak importers and by foreign suppliers exporting to Czechoslovakia. It was originally imposed with the condition that it would be a temporary measure. Beginning 1 April 1991, the decree on the import surcharge will be amended in the sense that all imports for manufacturing consumption—that is, not only for products intended for export, but also for the domestic market—will be exempted from the import surcharge. As of 1 April, the import surcharge will also not apply to imports by physical persons, that is, to imports within the framework of tourism.

Ministry of Labor Releases Unemployment Statistics

LD1203121991 Prague CTK in English 0950 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)—The number of jobless people in Czechoslovakia was 152,323 last month, almost 33,000 more than in January 1991, according to latest figures released by the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Labour.

Employment agencies in the Czech Republic, about twice as large as Slovakia, registered 74,753 applicants for jobs, or 1.23 per cent unemployment. In Slovakia, the number rose to 77,570, or 2.57 per cent of the population in productive age. The East Slovak region has the highest unemployment rate of 3.32 per cent.

The January figures were 58,895 unemployed in the Czech Republic and 60,583 in Slovakia.

An increase in unemployment is considered inevitable as inefficient productions have to be discontinued while the country is switching over to a market economy. The architects of reform indicate that a joblessness of around 8-10 per cent would be tolerable.

The respective populations of the Czech and Slovak Republics are roughly ten million and five million.

'Right Centre Groupings' Agree on Cooperation

LD1203095191 Prague CTK in English 1653 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—An agreement on cooperation of democratic right forces was formed by four Czechoslovak right centre groupings and the democratic right, journalists learnt here today. The four groupings are the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), the Republican Union (RU) and the Club of the Democratic Right-Movement for Civic Freedom (KDP-HOS).

Journalists were also told that the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Club of Committeed Non-Party People, who participated in drafting the agreement, would join it after the issue is debated by their top bodies.

The parties to the agreement want to work against the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and want the new constitution to embody the right to self-determination and an exact definition of how a nation may withdraw from the federation. LDS Chairman Emanuel Mandler stated that the majority of the representatives of the four political forces support the idea of a federal state.

The democratic right supports the original blueprint of economic reform, and believes the state should be only the last guarantor of necessary social needs.

Journalists, Calfa Discuss Press' Problems

AU1403141391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Mar 91 p 2

[CTK report: "The Periodical Press' Agony"]

[Text] Prague—CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa held talks for almost three hours yesterday with representatives of the Czech and Slovak journalistic communities. They handed over a joint memorandum to him.

The representatives of the Czech and Slovak journalistic communities briefed the prime minister on a survey compiled from information supplied by 120 periodicals (15 dailies). It is apparent from the survey that, under current economic conditions, only 28 of the 120 periodicals surveyed have a chance of economically surviving 1991. Of the 15 dailies surveyed, only seven (not one regional daily) have a chance of surviving and no specialist journal has a chance of surviving. Presently, approximately 80 percent of the local press has already gone bankrupt. For the economic losses being suffered by the surveyed periodicals in 1991 to—at least—correlate to the current difficult conditions, retail prices would have to increase by 60 percent and the price of a periodical would have to reach 11.50 korunas. In view of the current situation on the market, this is an unrealistic proposition.

CSKOS President on 'Alternative' Trade Unions

AU1203002391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Mar 91 pp 1,3

[Lubomira Cizova report: "The Movement Is Not Threatened With Disintegration"]

[Excerpts] Addressing a news conference yesterday, Roman Kovac, president of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions [CSKOS], presented a report to journalists on the activity of the CSKOS in the first year of its existence. [passage omitted]

In terms of membership (about 7 million), the Czechoslovak trade unions are third in Europe. The CSKOS also holds an important position in international trade union organizations. Since the founding of the confederation, the number of trade union functionaries in the center has been cut from 2,308 [employed by the Central Trade Union Council, the communist-dominated predecessor of CSKOS] to today's 223.

R. Kovac described the insufficient professionalism of trade union staff in the center and in individual trade unions as the greatest shortcoming in the activity of the CSKOS thus far. Educational programs, in which foreign trade union organizations and governments are taking part, should contribute to a more qualified and conceptual trade union policy. [passage omitted]

Asked by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY about the CSKOS' attitude to alternative trade union organizations, R. Kovac said that, for the time being, the movement is not threatened with disintegration. There is an attempt in Slovakia to establish a so-called Workers' Forum, which has the ambition to become a trade union center; however, it has only about 200 members meanwhile. In the Czech Republic, Christian Democratic trade unions are taking shape, the membership of which comes from employees of charities. "We are in favor of trade union pluralism and, if the alternative organizations come up with better ideas, we will not stand in the way of their activities because they have every right to present them. We do not, however, rule out a division of the confederation in the future," CSKOS President Roman Kovac said in conclusion.

Privatization Minister on Auctions of Businesses

AU1203101291 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Mar 91 p 2

[Jiri Leschtina report on a news conference with Tomas Jezek, Czech Republic minister for the administration of national property and privatization; place and date not given: "They Give Up in Masses; the Small Privatization Already Brought the State in Excess of 80 million (korunas)"]

[Text] "On the whole, the morale of our chief enemy looks like the morale of the Iraqi Army recently—the enemy is giving himself up in masses. Nevertheless, small islands of resistance remain." This is how Tomas Jezek, Czech Republic minister for the administration of national property and privatization, characterized the attitude of the state administration and enterprise directorates to the small privatization at yesterday's news conference.

As of yesterday [7 March], 223 businesses were sold in 28 auctions. Of this number, 31 businesses were not sold in the first round. A special state privatization account benefited so far from the auctions to the amount of 84.3 million korunas [kcs], and there is more property with the total calling price set at kcs1 billion 53 million awaiting auction in the nearest future. The highest selling prices were achieved in Prague, where the average difference between the calling and the selling prices reached [or rather where the selling price was] sevenfold [the calling price].

According to Minister Jezek, the controversy is over between his privatization team and the Czech Republic Ministry of Trade, which preferred the concept of international shareholding companies owning the best food superstores in the country. The key moment proved to be the latest government decision, according to which only district privatization commissions have the right to exempt these privatization "delicacies." So far, only one such decision has been made, in Jablonec nad Nisou, where five businesses were reserved for the needs of a Dutch company Ahold. Upon protests by the Jablonec district office, however, the privatization commission returned all five businesses to the list of objects to be auctioned.

The presence of some representatives of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs who were guided by their own interests, was "destructive," minister Jezek said, "and we let some of these people go."

Great discomfort arises at the privatization ministry from "wild" privatization—when some enterprises use exemptions granted by the ministry in charge to sell state property not only to private individuals but also to various pseudo-cooperatives at ridiculously low prices. "Unfortunately, these transactions are within the letter of the law because the Federal Assembly decided last fall that the exemptions can be granted by the founder, and not the government in rare and precisely justified cases as we originally suggested," T. Jezek imparted. "Today, the exemptions are granted without any control, behind the backs of the government and the Czech National Council, the money received from the sale does not go into the privatization fund, and it immediately becomes inflationary."

New Moravian Revival Movement Founded

LD1303160791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Moravian Unity [Jednota Moravska] is the name of the new movement wishing to offer services aimed at the revival of Moravia. (Professor Frolec), spokesman for the movement, said in a conversation with a CTK reporter that the movement is an association of democratically minded and democratically acting citizens wishing to join in a spirital revival of Moravia. It is a nonpolitical association perceived, first and foremost, as a cultural institution. It aims its efforts at a just position of Moravia in the CSFR for the benefit of the coexistence of Czechs, Slovaks, and national minorities.

LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE: 'Christian Daily'

AU1303134391

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 11 March on page 4 carries a 200-word unattributed report on the constituent congress of the Czech organization of the Czechoslovak People's Party, held in Prague on 9 March. The report mentions that "as of 8 March, the daily LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE carries the subtitle Christian daily, rather than daily of the Czechoslovak People's Party."

Termination of Nuclear Plant Project Announced

AU1403120991 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Mar 91 p 12

["(in)"-signed report: "Kecerovce Has Been Terminated"]

[Text] Kosice—One of the most widely discussed issues in East Slovakia—especially in Presov and Kosice—has been the planned construction of a nuclear power plant in Kecerovce. Opinions among the experts—energy specialists and ecologists—have varied, but the public has mostly been against the project. A decision made by Kosice municipal representatives also reflected the citizens' will. However, the decision on whether to build or not to build—within the framework of the plans drafted—should have been made at the Slovak Republic Government level. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar—at a meeting involving supporters of the Public Against Violence movement's "For a Democratic Slovakia" platform held in Vranov on Saturday [9 March]—officially announced that, in view of the stances adopted by citizens and municipal representatives, the nuclear power plant in Kecerovce will not be built.

SZDSZ Leader Holds Talks With Meciar

LD1203092691 Budapest MTI in English 0734 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava, March 12 (MTI)—"The liberal Alliance of Free Democrats stands closest to the Independent Hungarian Initiative among Slovakia's Hungarian political movements, but this can be no impediment to its maintaining correct, fruitful relations with the Christian Democrats and the Co-existence Movement," Janos Kis, president of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ], told the press after concluding his talks in Bratislava on Monday evening.

Kis said that an agreement had been reached with the Independent Hungarian Initiative on the institutional forms of permanent communication and the propagation of the liberalist political culture. The parliamentary faction leaders of the two organizations, as well as their local government councillors and mayors, are shortly to meet to work out ways and means of global and regional co-operation.

During their talks, Janos Kis and Fedor Gal, president of the Slovak movement Public Against Violence, stressed that it was necessary to promote the enforcement of minority rights in the two countries. A delegation from the movement is expected in Budapest in early April.

AFD's negotiating partners included Bela Bugar, president of Slovakia's Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, and Miklos Duray, president of the Political Movement Co-existence, who are also preparing to visit Budapest as part of the planned series of regular consultations.

Answering a question, Janos Kis stated that there was no major political force in Hungary intent on changing the present frontiers.

New Right-Wing Society Established in Bratislava

AU1403150891 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 13 Mar 91 p 2

["(c)"-signed report: "A New Right-Wing"]

[Text] A nationwide society called the New Right-Wing [Nova Pravica] has been established in Bratislava. This society's fundamental aim is the de-Bolshevization of the CSFR's economic and social life. This society has no party affiliation and associates citizens regardless of their political affiliation. The society acquaints the republic's citizens with right-wing ideas. It supports the freedom of the individual, private ownership, and private enterprise. It fundamentally supports the observance of human rights. Its contact address is as follows: Engineer Ivan Rybar, Hackenova 2, 851 01 Bratislava, telephone no. 846 369.

Jakab-Singel Interviewed on Slovaks in Hungary

AU1403142691

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 March on page 3 carries a 1,000-word interview with Maria Jakab-Singel, chairwoman of the Union of Slovaks in Hungary, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Miroslav Fladr entitled "People With Two Souls." The interview, which was conducted during Jakab's "recent visit to Czechoslovakia," deals with the situation of Slovaks in Hungary.

Jakab says that the greatest problem of Slovaks in Hungary, whose number she estimates at 100,000, is that—in contrast to Hungarians in Slovakia—they do not live in a compact territory but are dispersed throughout the country. This is also an obstacle to their being represented in the legislature. (Jakab mentions that she is "the only Slovak deputy to the Hungarian National Assembly," but she explains that she was not elected as a representative of the Slovak minority but as a candidate of the Socialist Party.)

Asked about the Slovak school system in Hungary, Jakab says: "The situation is bad. We do not have a complete school system, starting with kindergarten and ending with secondary school graduation. As for the teaching of Slovak, there exist two types of schools. The first is represented by what I call so-called Slovak schools. In these schools three subjects are taught in Slovak—history, geography, and Slovak language and literature—with the rest being taught in Hungarian. We have five elementary and two secondary schools of this type. In addition, there are 76 Hungarian schools at which Slovak is being taught as a subject."

Asked what Hungarian Slovaks expect from their country of origin, Jakab says that "the biggest help at present" would be to enable Hungarian Slovaks to watch Bratislava Television. She also calls for Slovak "guest teachers," the exchange of teachers between Slovakia and Hungary, and training courses for teachers of Slovak from Hungary.

In the interview, Jakab also rejects the "manipulation of minorities by some political forces" and the use of minorities "as an instrument for furthering these political forces' own aims." She describes it as "immoral and unjust" when the situation of Slovaks in Hungary is used as an argument for curtailing the rights of Hungarians in Slovakia.

Slovak Delegation on Results of Far East Trip

AU1203105091 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 7 (CTK)—Slovakia has signed an agreement with Japan's multinational C-Itoh monopoly on a credit for the modernization of Slovakia's largest petrochemical complex Slovnaft and for the purchase of 100,000 tonnes of oil, Slovak Government officials told CTK today.

After their return from a 12-day visit to Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Hong Kong, Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Ondrus and Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik said that Japanese financial circles have shown interest in investments in Slovakia provided the political scene there is stable.

In South Korea, representatives of the petrochemical Lucky Goldstar company and Samsung said they were prepared for joint ventures with Slovak enterprises in the chemical industry and electrical engineering, while business circles in the Philippines were interested in expanding trade and in cooperation in the light and textile industries. Hong Kong was interested in investments in the Slovak tourist industry and there are also prospects for cooperation on markets in southern China.

SNR Deals With Prices, Ecology, Business Law

AU1203143991 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Mar 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Slovak National Council on Prices and on Environment"]

[Text] Government drafts of Slovak National Council [SNR] laws on the environment fund and on the activity of the Slovak Republic bodies in the sphere of prices were adopted by the deputies at the eleventh session of the SNR.

The fund represents a way of curbing the redistribution function of the state budget. It has a certain stable and

autonomous position that provides it with the strength to resist economic shocks, and thus it is predestined for dealing with environmental problems.

The government draft SNR law on the activity of the Slovak Republic bodies in the sphere of prices adjusts anew the federation's and the republics' sharing of powers in this area. Its point of departure is the Slovak Republic Ministry of Finance in charge of the regulatory measures, price control, and the registration and bringing out of the informational price system. The federation, upon agreement with the republics, should decide on the quantity of the federally important goods with regulated prices, on the form of the regulation, and the time period and extent of its implementation. On this basis, the Slovak Republic Ministry of Finance ensures the execution of the price regulation—i.e. specifies the actual level of officially set prices. Furthermore, the ministry should participate in the preparation of a state-wide concept of the pricing policy, the legal adjustment of prices, and the preparation of a price freeze.

The next item on the agenda was a government draft Slovak National Council law on business lawyers and the legal help they provide. One of the basic goals of this law is to fill the gaps in expert legal assistance, particularly in the enterprise and business sphere, and last but not least to eliminate the legal monopoly and provide space for support of specialization in business law.

VW, Bratislava Car Enterprise Sign Agreement

AU1403184491 Prague CTK in English 2111 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava, March 12 (CTK)— The German firm Volkswagen (VW) AG, the Bratislava Car Enterprise (BAZ) and the Slovak Government signed here today an agreement providing for the creation of a corporation for the production of passenger cars, utility vans and engines.

By the creation of the corporation BAZ Bratislava will become an independent organization of the VW concern. In harmony with the signed document in the first stage Volkswagen will invest 930 million marks in the production of cars and gearboxes in BAZ Bratislava.

BAZ is going to produce cars under the VW trademark. The production of Passat cars is also being considered.

The Slovak Government approved cooperation between BAZ Bratislava and Volkswagen on March 5.

[Bratislava "NARODNA OBRODA" in Slovak on 13 March on page 1 carries a 500-word report entitled "A Principal Agreement Between the Bratislava Automobile Plant and Volkswagen". The report mentions the that the Slovak Republic's share in the automobile plant is 20 percent and Volkswagen's is 80 percent.]

Data on Circulation of Slovak Newspapers

AU1203003591

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 March on pages 1 and 3 publishes a 1,500-word Miroslav Siska article entitled "Uncertainty the Only Certainty." In the article, Siska surveys the views of the chief editors of Slovak dailies on the impact of the 22 percent sales tax on periodicals on their chances of survival.

The RUDE PRAVO item provides the following data on the current print runs of individual Slovak dailies: PRAVDA (chief editor Peter Sitanyi): 240,000; PRACA (Milos Nemecek): 235,000; SMENA (Karol Jezik): 120,000; NARODNA OBRODA (Juraj Veres): 88,000; UJ SZO (Jozef Szilvassy): 80,000; ROLNICKE NOVINY (Juraj Sestak): 47,000; HLAS LUDU (Pavol Dinka): 40,000; SLOVENSKY DENNIK (Milan Horcicak): 38,000; VEREJNOST (Peter Duhan): 22,000; and CAS (Juraj Alner): 17,000. The 11th Slovak daily, the Social Democrats' press organ LUDOVE NOVINY, which had a daily print run of 10,000 copies, ceased publication at the end of February for financial reasons.

Juraj Sestak, the chief editor of ROLNICKE NOVINY, tells RUDE PRAVO that, since the introduction of the 22 percent sales tax on periodicals at the beginning of the year, a daily must have a print run of at least 150,000 to break even. All the chief editors, except for two, are, therefore, pessimistic about the future of their newspaper. They all call for the abolition or reduction of the tax in the interest of press pluralism in Slovakia.

Antall Addresses MDF Rally on State of Economy

LD1403233991 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Andras Kerekes report on speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall]

[Text] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall delivered a speech entitled "Where Does Hungary Stand" at a University of Veterinary Sciences rally of the Erzsebetvaros organization of MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum].

This year will be the year of transformation, the year of serious difficulties; however, beginning in 1992, partly as a result of a possible association with the Common Market, not only might the economic decline come to a stop, but a slow ascent may also begin. This was stated by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, chairman of MDF, in a speech that lasted over an hour, which delivered without notes. He replied to the question indicated on the rally's invitations and on the posters, asking where Hungary stands, by means of an analysis of internal and foreign political interconnections.

He first offered a comparison with the neighboring countries, which—without exception—following the collapse of the communist system, found themselves in an extremely critical situation. Hungary stands up to the comparison, even with eastern Germany, the former GDR, on whose salvaging and uplifting the strongest economic power of Europe at present, former West Germany, is working. Unemployment of 1 million, however, the enormous internal tensions, and the ruination of entire branches of industry is forcing Helmut Kohl's government to make superhuman efforts. Jozsef Antall commented that it is not surprising that the opposition there recommends that the cabinet leave. He added: Contrary to several of its neighbors, our country is now a functioning country that, amidst unexpected and very large burdens, was unique in being able to increase its foreign currency reserves last year. Its $1 billion foreign trade surplus exceeded all earlier results, and its energy supplies were threefold, fourfold greater than earlier; therefore, we cannot speak now in Hungary about a general crisis.

Owing to the inherited economic structure that must be transformed, however, there naturally are crisis branches and crisis zones. Their decline has an impact on the performance of the entire country. Even so, our country is the most stable state in this region. Regarding ourselves, we can draw up a certificate of poverty if we present ourselves in the most pessimistic manner and if we have no belief in advance. At the same time, he emphatically cautioned against false hopes. Those abroad express their belief in us by placing in our country more than half of the capital invested in the former so-called socialist countries.

Jozsef Antal said: For centuries our country has never been such an organic part of the international community. It was the first to become a member of the Council of Europe. It is proceeding on the best path toward associate membership in the Common Market. It is building good relations with the countries of the Atlantic community. Presently, of course, it is still difficult to think of the future advantages stemming from this, when the people are surprised daily upon seeing price tags, but it must not be forgotten: Hungary, even in previous decades, was part of an empire regarding the economy. Our industry, our agriculture, produced for a market with low requirements.

If we want to catch up and not plunge futher into debt, however, we must radically transform our economic structure. We are now suffering from the anguishes of this economic destitution, but there is a possibility for advance, Jozsef Antall said, if only because those who are able to meet the tough market requirements can gain a stable market by way of prize. In connection with this, he reiterated that the government is not considering under any circumstances whatsoever either a refusal to repay its debts, or their rescheduling, and it considers such speculation to be irresponsible. Our creditors, mostly foreign private banks, can fully trust in Hungary in the future, too, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said.

Discussion Held on Military Relations, Budget

LD1403082891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] The visiting delegation of the North Atlantic General Assembly today shared its views at a roundtable discussion with the National Assembly's defense and foreign affairs committees. The topics included the military budget and parliamentary control of the Armed Forces, and Western methods of doing this. Gabor Kereszti reports:

[Begin Kereszti recording] Now that Hungary has to organize its defense independently, it has to join forces with the Western countries in the interest of budgetary savings, said one of the German representatives. He alluded to the fact that from the arms stocks of the former GDR, Germany would sell planes and tanks it does not need. Major General (Karoly Janza) said in reply that Hungary will lay claim to these. With the modern weapons, T-72 tanks for instance, Hungary could develop the Army's stock of combat vehicles. He added that in 1991 we will not be able to buy weapons; the country does not have the money for this.

According to Defense Committee Chairman Gyorgy Balogh,the development of the new defense system is not the only problem. There is also the fact that our military factories face a bad situation. They have no orders. The Soviet connection has been completely cut back. The structural transformations will not occur overnight either. National Assembly Deputy Speaker Alajos Dornbach added that if an enterprise is producing at a loss it must not be given preferential treatment even if it is a weapons factory. The members of the foreign delegation all affirmed that budgets throughout the world are

aiming to reduce military expenditure. The ideal proportion is if a country spends 3 percent of its gross national product for this purpose. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Statement on 1848 Anniversary

AU1503113191 Budapest MTI in English 2032 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, 13 March (MTI)—History testifies that quarrels between the nations of the Carpathian Basin have always resulted in harm done to all.

The greatest responsibility of national politics today is to encourage these nations to make a concerted effort to overcome past offences and mistrust, and forge a common future, after the model of the revolutionaries of various nationalities in 1848. Such is the keynote of the statement by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry released on the occasion of the anniversary of the 1848 war of independence.

At present, conditions are more favorable than ever for the joint prosperity of these nations, the statement runs. The nations have similar endeavours: economic renewal and the creation of a democratic society. These goals can only be attained in the European process of realizing human rights. States based on the rule of law must grant full rights to all national, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities.

The 15 March celebrations of Hungarians beyond the borders should also be held in this spirit, marked by a desire for common good fortune, the statement concludes.

Goncz's National Holiday Speech Reported

LD1403205291 Budapest MTI in English 1916 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—We have to do our best to make March 15 a holiday for all Hungarians, a symbol of national unity and joint efforts, president of the Republic of Hungary Arpad Goncz stressed at the ceremony held in Veszprem (W Hungary) on the eve of the national holiday on March 15.

These days, when we are going through a revolutionary period similar to that of 1848, we have to be aware that we can only achieve a real democracy if the whole country takes the idea on board, and if people not only accept it but actively participate in its realisation, the president said.

President Goncz met the dons at Veszprem University. Vice-Chancellor Janos Liszi informed him that there was already teacher training at the university in addition to the chemical engineering courses, and that theology courses would be launched in September.

Antifascist Gypsy Group Announces Future Plans

AU1403123591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Mar 91 p 4

["M.I."-signed report: "Antifascist Gypsies for Compensation"]

[Text] As previously reported in our newspaper, the Antifascist Organization of Hungarian Gypsies [Magyar Ciganyok Antifasiszta Szervezete] was founded on 3 March. Albert Horvath, chairman of the organization, informed us about the aims of the gypsy organization.

Among other things, Horvath told us that the main aim of the organization was to ensure that human rights were implemented in a just way; education for Gypsies should be promoted, employment opportunities should continually be secured, the gypsy way of thinking should be developed, and lastly, gypsies should be integrated into society by means of more elaborate social and cultural links.

Albert Horvath stressed that the organization wished to implement its goals on the basis of resolutions already laid down in the Constitution and in constitutional laws.

The organization sees it as its fundamental task to cooperate with all the social and political groups that support the same or similar fundamental aims as the organization itself. Such groups include the Association of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists [Magyar Ellenallok es Antifasisztak Szovetsege] and the Committee of Nazi Persecuted [Nacizmus Uldozotteinek Bizottsaga]. The Antifascist Organization of Hungarian Gypsies wishes to foster the legacy of the antifascist struggle, it wants to preserve the memory of victims, it hopes to enlight Hungarian gypsies, and it wants to find all the surviving gypsies who suffered losses during World War II to ask for financial compensation—for the survivors themselves, or for their descendants. Albert Horvath noted that the gypsy organization had already started cooperating on this issue with the Committee of Nazi Persecuted.

The Antifascist Organization of Hungarian Gypsies has its headquarters in Budapest (7th district, Dembinszky Street 11.) but it hopes to operate on a national scale.

President Goncz Marks National Media Day

LD1403045891 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—It is of great importance that the media should be lively and independent, President of the Republic of Hungary Arpad Goncz stressed at the ceremony marking media day on Wednesday.

Hungarian media day takes place on March 15 every year.

"No events can take place in today's Hungary without being given coverage by the media, with judgments and opinions to boot—and varied opinions, thank God," the president said.

Understanding and tolerance must prevail in helping society to organise itself because only this way can both society and government be made stable. The need for tolerance, however, should not mean depriving people of their right to question, Goncz added.

At the ceremony, Secretary-General of the International Federation of Journalists Aiden White gave Hungarian journalists a message from his organisation.

Results of Opinion Poll on Privatization

AU1503113091 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, 13 March (MTI-ECONEWS)—Around 62 percent of those questioned in a recent poll carried out by the GFK-Hungaria market research institute were in favor of privatization.

Some 23 percent were "don't knows," and only 12 percent were against.

The sample poll, involving 2,000 people, revealed that one in three respondents were totally in the dark about what privatization actually meant.

The 66 percent who seemed to be in the picture about what privatization was all about considered the fact that it makes jobs insecure and produces unemployment a major disadvantage.

Some 62 percent of those interviewed believed that privatization produces general insecurity of existence, 60 percent expressed concern about too much influence from Western investors, and 56 percent even blamed privatization for high prices.

About 56 percent of the people asked considered the privatization process on the slow side, while 16 percent thought it was going ahead too quickly.

Poll Shows Difficulties Making Ends Meet

AU1503113491 Budapest MTI in English 1050 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, 13 March (MTI)—There are few people in Hungary who find it easy to make ends meet, concluded a public opinion poll conducted by Szonda Ipsos—a Hungarian-French institute studying media, public opinion, and market research—in a representative, 1,000-member sample one month ago. The results of the poll are published in Wednesday's NEPSZABADSAG.

Some 47 percent of those asked said that their income was sufficient for modest subsistence. A further 11 percent complained about living in privation. Some 37 percent of the respondents regarded their financial standing as acceptable, and 4 percent as satisfactory. Five of the 1,000 respondents said they found it easy to make ends meet. Three quarters of those asked felt their financial standing had deteriorated last year, and only 6 percent saw any improvement.

According to the poll, most people seek to keep their budget in balance by reducing household costs, postponing the purchase of more expensive goods, and working at home and on the household plot. Some 93 percent of those asked save in one or more of these ways.

In the past few months, one tenth of the respondents had insufficient funds for buying food, and 8 percent were unable to pay the rent or settle all their bills.

Economic Cabinet Discusses Joint Soviet Trade

LD1403104791 Budapest MTI in English 0948 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI-ECONEWS)—At a session held yesterday, the economic cabinet of the Hungarian Government dealt with financing difficulties of companies involved in exporting to the Soviet Union.

The cabinet members were agreed that company deliveries cannot be financed without letters of credit: i.e., in the absence of an irrevocable letter of credit, every company or commercial bank can only export goods to the Soviet Union at their own risk.

Under the export credit arrangement, the National Bank of Hungary can only refinance contracts with solvent customers or in possession of bank guarantees.

Forty-two companies, representing 40 per cent of Hungary's total industrial exports to the Soviet market, figured in the proposal the cabinet discussed.

There are considerable differences between the 42, depending on what percentage of their total exports goes to the Soviet market.

No central assistance is likely to be urgently needed for those in the category below 20 per cent, but the cabinet has decided to judge those in the over-50-per-cent group on a case-by-case basis.

There is no reason, they feel, why companies undergoing liquidation or privatization should be granted budget support, viz., support from taxpayers.

The government will take over part of the interest on credits for Soviet-bound finished products for three months, though, again on individual consideration, from companies whose products appear on the indicative list, which possess signed delivery contracts, and stand a good chance of finding a solvent customer on the market.

The concrete list, which is expected to contain 15-20 companies, will be put before the cabinet next week.

The detailed examination will also serve as basis for talks Hungarian Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa will conduct in Moscow from March 28.

The indicative goods list, which is a supplement to the Soviet- Hungarian government agreement on commercial and economic cooperation for 1991, details Hungarian export products worth about $1.7 billion.

The value of private contracts concluded in two-way trade so far is about $1.2 billion.

Trade Official on Difficulties in Soviet Trade

AU1403115991 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Laszlo Timar, head of a main department in the Ministry of International Economic Relations, by Zsuzsa Gal; place and date not given: "The Other Way Around, Gentlemen!"]

[Text] [Gal] Can you foresee a return to ruble [R] accounting in Hungarian-Russian trade?

[Timar] We have repeatedly received such proposals. According to one proposal, we should create a bilateral clearing agreement in which we would settle the accounts in internal rubles, rather than transferable rubles, naturally with a foreign economic bank located on Russian territory. In this case, however, we would have no guarantees whatsoever that we could actually use the amount of rubles accumulated from the sales of Hungarian products. For example, could Mineralimpex buy crude for R60 [figure as published] from the accumulated amount? If so, how much would this cost in forints? Of course, such a system can be set up, albeit not easily; however, we do not see any justification for such a system. As a result, we agreed on applying trade methods accepted all over the world and settling our accounts in hard currency, and we should stick to this agreement.

[Gal] Obviously, the shortage of convertible currency hinders this agreement. Could this shortage not be overcome in a different way?

[Timar] Perhaps by the way the various enterprises are trying to do this—namely, they say we should do this the other way around: We should do this in forints. The Soviet enterprises should pay in forints for whatever they buy, and the Hungarian National Bank, or any other Hungarian bank would settle the account in forints. We have proposed this neither to our Soviet partners nor to our Russian partners because, as I already mentioned, our job is to do business the way we agreed upon, namely in convertible currency.

[Gal] What promises to be an acceptable solution?

[Timar] The problem is that there is no agreement between the central government and the republics on the sphere of authority. We notice the signs of this problem in the Russian proposals too. However, the distribution of national resources cannot take decades. Our Russian partners say that this year will probably be lost, but the conditions of trade will surely be available by 1992.

[Gal] What happens until then?

[Timar] We are very much interested in developing Hungarian-Russian trade; therefore, we also gladly accepted the proposal to create a joint commercial house, a joint Russian-Hungarian enterprise. Our partners say that the traditional system of trade representations, with their commissioners and bureaucrats, has become obsolete. Naturally, we would not allow any new creation to acquire monopoly, be it Russian, Hungarian, or joint enterprise; however, such a commercial house could naturally participate in the process.

Paris Club To Cut Country's Debt 50 Percent

AU1503112091 Paris AFP in English 1104 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Paris, March 15 (AFP)—The Club of Paris creditor countries have agreed to cut Poland's debt to member countries by 50 per cent, the French Economy Ministry said in a statement here Friday.

The creditor countries had been meeting here since Thursday to discuss the issue.

Deputies Accused of Stalling on Free Elections

AU1403142391 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 11 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Adam Cymer commentary: "The Sejm Applies the Brakes"]

[Text] The three-day-long debate in the Sejm has finally decided the matter. Parliamentary elections will take place in the fall. Deputies agreed to curtail the term of the present Parliament, but not to such an extent that it could be interpreted as a goodwill gesture toward the president's suggestion that free elections be held this spring. In this way the Sejm has blocked the attempt to accelerate the democratic process. Many deputies seemed to be genuinely concerned by the need to accelerate, but when it came to the voting it became obvious that they would vote against it. Cynical comments from some former Walesa admirers implied that by choosing to delay the elections, the deputies would be giving the president an opportunity to fulfill some of his preelection promises. At best, such comments must be regarded as being in bad taste; furthermore, they are totally misdirected, because the point under discussion is the Sejm's—and not the president's—length of term. Perhaps the deputies were making another point?

The Sejm debate recedes into history. Once again it became apparent that the politicians who sit on parliamentary benches are very quick to protect their own self-interests (or that of their own social circles or groups, because in our present reality these deputies do not represent any defined political party) instead of protecting the national interests of our fledgling democracy, which is still held together by the political contract made between the elites of a former era. The slogan used by the Democratic Union deputies is reminiscent of the 1988 Geremek slogan that called for an "anti-crisis pact." Everyone knew what that signified in those days, but today, in a Poland moving toward democracy and free elections of free citizens (this is the way one should interpret Walesa's proposal), such a slogan is completely out of place. Who is to conclude what pact and with whom? Do they expect society to stand by and watch? The slogan could have even more sinister implications. Is someone trying to decide the future of the nation, once again reducing society's role to a passive bystander? Are some politicians so worried by the prospect of electoral defeat that they are ready to conclude another pact at the price of trampling democratic rules.

The political debate that has delayed free elections gives rise to concern that by putting back the process of stabilizing the country, it has made it virtually impossible to continue with the program economic reforms, which require society's consent. The only valid form of social approval is the will of the nation expressed through free and general elections that endorse the direction of the reforms and the social price it will cost. The electoral mechanism must not be postponed too long, because today's situation is already raising profound questions about the social stability of the process of reform.

The dramatic nature of Poland's situation and the delicate international framework surrounding our economic reform program raise the question: "Will the continuing political uncertainty and the accompanying ambiguity surrounding Poland's future authority be a stumbling block to Western business investment, reluctant to invest in a high political risk country, and will our economic partner to the east not attempt to engineer our mutual economic relationships to further his own political interpretation of our situation? The Sejm obviously does not see any of these dangers, so perhaps they do not exist?

The Sejm debate outcome may, however, incline people to make a positive, although a somewhat risky, speculation. If one makes the assumption that the Sejm has blocked the call for early elections solely out of respect for the solemnity of its legislative processes and the need for an exhaustive discussion on the new election law proposals, one has the right to assume that the deputies will seriously apply themselves to the study of various bills proposed by the government, legislation that is necessary to keep the reform process moving forward, and that they suspend their vociferous but unproductive political wrangles. This is the only way the Sejm can prove its credibility and demonstrate its desire to honestly participate in the process of creating a new economic order in Poland. The Sejm vote outcome has also created a new challenge for the government. The government must—through its expeditious and honest approach to the creation of new legislation—ensure that the deputies take a responsible approach to the work of the Sejm, without regard to political inclinations, especially where the fate of Polish reforms could be at stake.

Party Leader Warns of Danger in Delayed Elections

LD1503092791 Warsaw PAP in English 2256 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Katowice, March 14—Delaying elections means dancing on the volcano, Leszek Moczulski, leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) and former presidential candidate, said here today.

Social dissatisfaction increases, people do not accept the current situation. Elections give a chance to relieve this

tension which otherwise may bring about a revolution. Thus, it is necessary to adopt an election law as quickly as possible. Given the present chaotic political life, the Confederation for Independent Poland comes out in favour of an election law proposing a proportional representation.

Sejm Speeches on Election Proposals Reported

AU1403165191 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Mar 91 pp 8-10

[Unattributed report on speeches by Sejm deputies delivered during the 7 through 9 March session of the Sejm]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz (Deputies Club of the Democratic Left): [passage omitted] The center right now governing Poland must obtain the agreement of the people to carry on with its present string of successes. Blustering assurances about not relinquishing power, hysterical attacks on the left, together with proposals for a Polish form of the 1935 Nuremberg Laws, fabricated plots, condemnation of those staging protests, the enlargement of special services, the curbing of the freedom of speech, all attest to (laughter in the chamber) the threats to which parliamentary democracy is being exposed.

As I understand it, the electorate will decide who is right in the upcoming elections (applause).

It is a matter of concern to us that these threats are being accompanied by the absence of responsibility on the part of representatives of the government for what they say. A recent example of this was the claim that the damage caused to the nation by the authorities of the Polish People's Republic exceeded the crimes committed by the fascists during the war. (applause).

That is why we are in favor of rapid elections. Our position is only convergent with the proposals made by the Belweder Palace camp on the surface. The right does not conceal the fact that it hopes that the next few months will provide it with an opportunity to, by introducing legal ruses into the electoral code, make a bid for victory. The more this is delayed, the more difficult it will become to convince people that elections are the most pressing issue and that a program for the impoverishment of society is precisely what society longs for....

Jan Maria Rokita (Democratic Union Deputies Club): [passage omitted] We cannot accept the fact that the forces that brought about the change in the holder of the office of head of state and the changes to the government are, in an increasingly conspicuous manner, denying political support to the new president and government and, by doing so, are seeking to evade responsibility for the state. This gives rise to the danger that last year's political crisis will be repeated, a crisis stemming from there being no political movement, no organization that would assume responsibility before the public for decisions made by the authorities; a crisis, the very essence of which is the rupture of contact and the absence of institutions allowing communication between those in power and public opinion.

Thus, in keeping with democratic traditions, it is unthinkable that any kind of party, especially one distancing itself from the government, should be formed in the president's office. It is just as unthinkable that presidential advisers should publicly disavow the policy course being pursued by the president. (applause)

Adam Michnik (Democratic Union Deputies Club): It would have been possible to hold elections in May on the basis of the draft provided by the Constitutional Commission. The new electoral code initiative from the president's office blocked that possibility. It is rather funny and lacking in seriousness to assume that the chamber can approve the draft, which is something of a pig in a poke, without additional debate in the commissions, to assume (applause) that the Sejm does not have to be respected, and when one is a deputy to propose that one does not have to respect oneself (applause). [passage omitted]

I would like to say one or two words about the electoral code itself. I do not want to get involved right now in an argument about which draft is better, the one proposed by the president or the one that is the result of the work carried out by the Constitutional Commission. They both have their faults. There is, however, one thing that I want to emphasize: The draft produced by the Constitutional Commission is the result of a parliamentary compromise. Whoever turns up today with a new code and wants to consign to the wastepaper basket the whole compromise between various forces and various people that was worked out over weeks and months is practicing a form of deception. He says: I want elections right away, but I am creating every possible circumstance that would prevent those elections from taking place, even in the fall. [passage omitted]

We are presently witnessing a deliberate, planned display of destruction, the undermining of all authorities of any significance, and the slandering of people and institutions with impunity, because it is believed that if you keep throwing mud something will always stick, some slanderous statement will always stick. The question I want to ask is what effect this will have, because the way in which the authority of Prime Minister Mazowiecki's government was destroyed has placed Prime Minister Bielecki's government in the situation in which it finds itself today. I would add something else, ladies and gentlemen, although some of you may find it surprising. Attacks of the same kind were directed at President Jaruzelski and that opened the way to the brutal and vulgar attacks against President Walesa that we were witnessing today.

There is a danger, such is the logic of things, that the destruction of authority comes first, to be followed by chaos, and chaos can no longer be reformed. It has never been possible to reform chaos anywhere in the world.

Only dictatorship can provide a path leading from chaos to order.... [passage omitted]

Andrzej Kern (Citizens Parliamentary Club, Center Accord): [passage omitted] If Deputy Michnik's statement had been an isolated one, I would have let it pass without comment. For some time now, however, Deputy Michnik has been consistently making statements directed against the president; everything the president does is wrong. If he tries to create a Political Council—that is wrong. If he tries to create a Consultative Council—that is wrong. If he propose an electoral code to the Sejm—that is wrong. There is always a suspicion that the president has dictatorial inclinations, although there is no basis for this. The surprising thing is that Deputy Michnik continues to be treated by the president with great kindness and, I would even say, with affection. (laughter, applause).

So, what is the reason for Deputy Michnik's attitude toward the president? I think there is no logical explanation. It is surely some kind of chronic presidential allergy, which leads him into what I think are completely unnecessary discussions, especially against the background of what we are supposed to be discussing today. [passage omitted]

Solidarity of Labor's 'Theses' Outlined

PM1303094591 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Feb 91 p 7

[Jacek Poprzeczko article: "Against the Liberal Utopia: Will Poland Have a New Left-Wing Coalition?"]

[Text] The Solidarity of Labor phenomenon defies all descriptions and definitions. It is not a party, nor a political group, nor even a social movement. In formal terms, it has no members, either, but it does have a parliamentary caucus and a program endorsed by well-known names. Both the program and Solidarity of Labor itself can be ranked among the most interesting developments in our current political life.

To describe Solidarity of Labor in the simplest of terms, we could say that it represents an initiative of a group of like-minded people who want to create a new political orientation using unconventional methods. Its beginnings, however, were conventional enough: It started with an attempt at setting up a new parliamentary lobby. In late 1989, on the initiative of Ryszard Bugaj and Karol Modzelewski, the Group for the Defense of Employee Interests emerged within the framework of the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP]. It was a loose-knit arrangement, numbering some 40 people, mainly NSZZ Solidarity activists. The attempt was not very successful: The group failed to acquire a clearly defined identity and did not engage in any significant actions.

Nevertheless, the question of the protection of employee interests continued to absorb a group of parliamentary deputies and others who shared their ideas: intellectuals, trade union activists, and members of self-government bodies, all active outside Parliament. In August last year they set up a consensus group, Solidarity of Labor—a kind of informal political club—and began work on the drafting of a socioeconomic program designed as an alternative option to the government plan for a reconstruction of the economy. By the end of November last year they completed the "Program Theses: A Document for Discussion," signed by an 18-person team. On the team we find the names of trade union and self-government activists (Maciej Jankowski, Bogdan Kaczmarek, Marek Krankowski, Andrzej Milkowski), and academics (including Tadeusz Kowalik, Wojciech Lamentowicz, Piotr Marciniak, Jerzy Szacki and also the Polish Socialist Party chief, Jan Jozef Lipski.)

On 25 January 1991 a new parliamentary caucus, Solidarity of Labor [SP], was set up within the OKP framework, comprising nine members and represented by spokesmen Ryszard Bugaj and Karol Modzelewski (who are also joint authors of the program).

SP is also represented by separate, so-called extraparliamentary spokesmen, in the persons of Wojciech Lamentowicz, Piotr Marciniak, and Jan Mujzel.

This arrangement serves as the new group's entire formal structure. There is no chairman, no council, no committees, and no commissions; however, we should mention here the emerging embryos of regional SP clubs. The whole enterprise is based to a large extent on contacts evolving from social relationships and networks of friends, and above all else on a wealth of shared ideas.

The "Program Theses" are circulating in Warsaw in badly printed duplicate photocopies. It was not until recently that PO PROSTU published an abbreviated version of this document.

Doctrinaire Attitudes Can Harm Your Health

"After 40 years of repeated attempts at the construction of a communist Utopia," we read in the "Theses," "the emotional climate prevalent in the country today is conducive to the construction of another, liberal Utopia. We see a number of revolutionary projects being presented (for example, a wholesale redistribution of the national assets) whose consequences are impossible to predict and could prove to be very grave indeed. A revolutionary rhetoric is on its way back, accentuating "the one and only correct way" and demanding that society make great, new sacrifices—this time for the sake of building a capitalist system. We declare in favor of a path of pragmatic transformations, against doctrinaire attitudes, against the subjection of thought to ideology, against the presentation of ideological axioms as unquestionable scientific truths. The program of economic reconstruction should be divided into successive stages, and each of these stages should not only introduce alterations of the economic system but also bring palpable changes in the economic condition and material situation of the population."

So far, the program proposed by the SP is the most consistent attempt at mapping out—within the Solidarity or, rather, post-Solidarity movement—an orientation that provide a counterbalancing tendency against the liberal trends. This could prove highly important in the process of shaping a new "political map" in our country. The concepts of "left" and "right" are gradually gaining more significance. Until now, whenever we used either of these concepts, we were likely to get encumbered with troublesome residual historical contexts dating back to earlier eras. Now the criterion of the division is no longer derived from one historical tradition or other, but from the attitude to concrete problems of the present day, particularly to the aims, methods, and results of the reconstruction of the economy.

If there is any one tradition on which the SP has drawn, it is certainly the Solidarity tradition. According to the authors of the "Theses," the Solidarity ethos consists primarily in a firm adoption of the principle of social justice and in recognition of work as a source of material and spiritual values enriching society. Hence the need to counteract "the currently very strong tendencies to repeat the economic and political disfranchisement of the working people in their milieus."

The economic policy pursued by the present, post-communist authorities, seriously endangers the interests of these milieus; however, the SP program is not based on an uncompromising negation of this policy in its full extent. It is not limited to constituting a list of compensatory demands. It does not assume an automatic division into "us" and "them," nor does it promote thinking in terms of "class struggle," or a polarized opposition of "labor" and "capital."

On the other hand, it presents the idea of a "modernization coalition," born out of the conviction that there is a very sizeable area of shared interests between people who are employed on the principle of hired labor and "people who profess the ethos of entrepreneurship." Employees and employers alike are interested in modernizing the economy and introducing modern, effective management methods. Solidarity of Labor opposes the "liberal utopia," but at the same time it stresses the liberals' achievements in disseminating models of dynamic entrepreneurial activity and building an economy based on the competitive principle. Apart from the area of shared interests, however, there is, of course, an area of conflicting interests. The SP favors the idea of "a consensus between employees' movement and the new entrepreneurship movement." In any case, the idea of resolving conflicts through seeking to arrive at a consensus and a social contract rather than in a head-on clash is symptomatic of the general way of thinking which underpins the "Theses." The authors of the document refer to Solidarity's achievements as a move dedicated to creating new mechanisms of social consensus. Furthermore, it is not hard to discern here a convergence with contemporary ideas fostered by Western social democratic systems.

The Point Where Democracy Ends

The authors of the "Theses" declare themselves in favor of a social market economy. This is a system based on the market mechanisms and free market competition but in which the state pursues a policy of support for economic development and the desired changes in economic structure. This policy should also counteract excessive unemployment and, in the long run, aim for the realization of the principle of full employment. It is also geared to put a stop to excessive incomes differentiation among the working population.

The "Theses" place much emphasis on the state's protective function—that is, its role in the development of culture, health care, education, and social welfare.

All this, however, is accompanied by a number of reservations. Regardless of how much the liberals would like it, the state can neither withdraw altogether its involvement in the economy, nor should it intervene in it above and beyond a certain need. This need is greater today than it will be in the future. Poland is a country that lags far behind Europe's leading economic performers, and market mechanisms alone will certainly not pull it out of its backward condition. The state's role must be especially extensive in the initial stage of the modernization, when market mechanisms are being formed and the whole structure of the economy inherited from the previous system is being restructured. The extent of state intervention should be clearly defined and limited, and the tools of this intervention must be consistent with the logic of market economy.

Regarding the state's protective function, the SP insists that it must be reinforced; nevertheless, it does not pose unrealistic demands that could not be reconciled with the present state of our finances. Education should be completely free, at all levels of learning. The public would have to pay the full or partial cost of certain services in the national health care system, though it is necessary to avoid "pathological commercialization." Culture should also be free of such "pathological commercialization." Authentic cultural assets and values should be protected and safeguarded against being treated like any other commercial product.

Though the SP accords a greater role to the state than liberals do, it is nevertheless firmly opposed to the "expansion of etatism" and bureaucracy. The most important element of the concept of democratic order presented in the "Theses" is freedom given to all attempts at public self-organization and active civil involvement in public life. "In the concept of democratic order we perceive, first and foremost, a political mechanism enabling all social groups and milieus to play an active and effective role in defining the new rules of social action and coexistence." Democracy is tantamount to being able to authentically influence public life, open equally to all. "We must not allow a situation

where the wealth of individuals or social groups determines their chances in elections to representative institutions or their opportunities of reaching public opinion with their programs."

The SP supports many models of self-government and self-management systems, including employee self-management schemes. This is because democracy cannot come to an end at factory gates and office doors.

Social Contract With the Government

The SP "Theses" suggest that if we are to find a democratic solution to the problems generated by the economic collapse that Poland is presently suffering, we must establish a new "social contract" between the government and the institutions representing the economic interests of particular social groups. This contract should embrace, among other things, questions of real wage levels, the scale of unemployment, farmers' incomes, and the incomes of old-age and disability pensioners. In addition, decisions should be reached on such issues as the main directions of our economic policy, including the privatization program (the SP regards the proposal to distribute the state's assets among individual citizens as a dangerous idea: "Those with more money at their disposal will buy out all the shares and, as a result, "the distribution project could end in a wholesale dispossession of society instead of the promised large scale enfranchisement of citizens.") The "social contract" should be formally endorsed by Parliament.

This vision of a democratic, self-governing society, in which conflicts are not purposely camouflaged but openly resolved through negotiation and agreement, is compatible with the way in which the SP views its own role. "We are deeply convinced that the Polish political scene should allow for the presence of groups that guarantee to represent employees' interests in a way that is both responsible and resolute. While we do not aspire to claim an exclusive right to do so, we will undertake to create a consensus between groups, milieus, and individuals who assess the situation in a similar way and who share their program preferences with us. We descend from Solidarity and we address our document first of all to those who still identify with this movement's ethos. Let us create a Solidarity of Labor Consensus together. We do not intend for this to be a political party or any other similar organization with a rigid structure and formalized membership rules. We intend the Solidarity of Labor Consensus to constitute an open forum capable of producing programs, formulating recommendations, and exerting a positive influence on the state's policies."

How To Divide Power

The SP program carries many detailed proposals concerning, among other things, the agricultural policy, the housing question, or the taxation system; however, I find that the most interesting thing about the program is the attitude of mind with which it approaches the many matters concerning our country. To wit, we have here a most sensible proposal to put our political scene in order, mainly according to the criterion of the position taken on the fundamental economic problems and disregarding the divisions mapped out by all kinds of ideologies, historical tradition, and political symbols. It is significant that economic programs are the weakest points of all parties, movements, and political groups currently being set up in Poland. Certainly no alternative proposal to counter the "Balcerowicz plan" has been presented to date, because no one has come out with a cohesive and logically cogent argument in favor of such an alternative. The main division lines follow the differences existing in the purely political sphere and centering on who will be in power and how the power should be wielded.

The results of the first round of the presidential election sounded an alarm signal pointing to the fact that the public were not happy with their politicians, did not understand them, and did not approve the warfare taking place among them. Instead, they wanted the politicians to turn their attention to the crucial issue: that people were finding it more and more difficult to make ends meet from day to day.

The assumption of power by the Solidarity camp initiated the process of construction of new political structures in our country. The period between now and the next parliamentary election, as well as the election itself, will constitute another important stage in this process. When we are confronted by the question of whom we should support and vote for, then the issue of the economic order proposed by that candidate becomes particularly relevant, though obviously not to the point of excluding all other considerations.

So far, we have had just one proposal presented by Solidarity—that is, the main political force in our country today: to carry out an economic reconstruction according to the precepts of the liberal doctrine. True, this proposal is clearly modified by the new government team in the direction of intensifying the degree of state intervention; however, we must not underestimate the fact that an obvious alternative has now been proposed, in the form of the SP program, which is also derived from the sphere of Solidarity ideology. This alternative could be best summarized as follows: an activation of market mechanisms will not on its own guarantee that economic development must automatically take place; on the contrary, so far, it has led us straight into a massive recession. To overcome the crisis and the recession we must have a clearly formulated state policy, negotiated and coordinated between the principal social groups and taking into account the interests of the employees. Sacrifices are inevitable, but they must not be greater than is really necessary and they must not place the heaviest burden on those who earn their living as employees.

It has not yet been irrevocably decided whether and how the SP is to join the contest in the parliamentary election. This is because the SP is not so much a political

movement as, clearly, a group offering a program proposal for such a movement. It is equally clear that in the present configuration of political forces it could be placed on the left, between ROAD [Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action] and the PPS [Polish Socialist Party]. Is the SP destined to become a center for forming a new left wing coalition in Poland?

A Crown for the Eagle and a Budget Debate

It seems that it has very considerable chances of becoming just such a center. This is mainly because it concerns itself with the truly common interests of all those who earn their living as employees. The fact that the trade unions also take it upon themselves to represent these interests is not enough. Employee interests should also be represented on the political scene. There is a growing awareness of this need, which in turn generates new divisions and splits. These are different than those hailing back to pre-Solidarity times, but they are becoming increasingly apparent.

The SP does not believe it is enough to defend and protect employee interests at enterprise level; its contention is that the entire social order should be arranged in a way which guarantees that these interests are protected. If I were to voice a certain sense of apprehension here, it is to the effect that this intention may turn out to be too ambitious for the present time. The SP program was born out of a sense of threat and an awareness of the enormous social costs caused by the erstwhile economic practice. It is precisely this threat that prevents—on a massive scale—all thinking in terms of shared, common interests and activates behaviors geared to the defense of individual interests. Even if these take shared, common interests into consideration, they do so only on the enterprise scale or, at best, in terms of the sector. Seen from this level, the SP program can appear too abstract, with its idea of "social contracts," and at the same time too conciliatory and compromise-seeking.

Nor do we know for certain whether we have already developed and matured the tendency to consolidate in groups on the basis of shared economic programs rather than political and symbolic slogans. The controversy over whether the Polish eagle should wear a crown generates far more passion and emotion than the budget debate. Well, we are only at an initial stage of a democratic system. The SP program contains a warning to the effect that these conditions and circumstance are particularly conducive to the emergence of a powerful temptation to introduce an authoritarian rule. At this point, however, another doubt arises: Whether in these very conditions the authors of the "Theses" do not place excessive trust in the self-government model of democracy, which requires an exceptional maturity, responsibility, and a wealth of experience if it is to succeed. Furthermore, can an "industrial democracy" really constitute a factor conducive to the attainment of economic efficiency, as the authors of the "Theses" insist?

The self-government and industrial models of democracy are certainly fine ideas and they are unquestionably worth promoting; however, how feasible is their implementation in contemporary Polish reality? I have the impression that, in certain points, the "Theses" represent more of an intellectual proposal to be put up for "general consideration" than a concrete program that could be readily put into practice by a given political movement. Nevertheless, I do remember that the "Theses" are a document "for discussion." I hope that this discussion will eventually bear fruit in the form of a precisely defined orientation that can truly influence our political life in concrete and practical terms.

Council of Ministers Discusses Future Activities

AU1503131091 Warsaw PAP in English 2211 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—The Council of Ministers chaired by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki defined here today the major spheres and directions of Polish foreign policy in 1991, approved the contents of a letter of intent to the IMF, discussed the controversial question of the reprivatization of property taken over by the state after World War II, and considered the bill on trade unions.

The letter of intent together with the memorandum on development policy for the years 1991-1993 are to constitute a basis for a new agreement with the IMF for the coming three years.

The economic strategy adopted by the government aims at laying the foundations for a stable economic development by means of monetary and price stabilization, fast systematic changes such as privatization, support for competition, the liberalization of foreign trade, the reform of public finances etc., and greater foreign investments.

Before both documents are sent to the IMF, their details will be discussed at inter-ministerial level.

In regard to reprivatization, the government will support the parliamentary draft law on the return of small-size economic units to their legal owners and undertake legislative initiative to compensate them for the appropriated assets.

Minister for Ownership Transformations Janusz Lewandowski considered the return of property taken over by the state an obvious element in the ownership transformations in Poland. The property seized by unlawful means will be subject to reprivatization in the first place.

In cases where it is impossible to return property, and they are most numerous, former owners will receive compensation in the form of bonds or shares in their old firms.

The return of property to former owners is aimed at reviving the economy rather than hindering structural

reforms. While pursuing reprivatization we must not undermine the validity of the whole of the post-war law, Lewandowski underlined.

The Council of Ministers also took a stand on the bills on trade unions underlining that the right to enter into collective disputes with employers and to strike should be given only to trade unions.

Also, Government Spokesman Andrzej Zarebski briefed the cabinet on the transformations in information policy and discussed changes in the governmental press services.

Poll Shows Low Trust in Sejm, Solidarity

LD1403100391 Warsaw PAP in English 0958 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—71 per cent of the respondents of the public opinion research centre at the Polish radio and TV declared their confidence in the Roman Catholic Church in a poll conducted March 4-5, against 78 per cent last December.

69 per cent have confidence in the Army (70 per cent last December), 58 per cent in the police (previously 55 per cent). Half of the respondents (51 per cent) voiced their confidence in the government (previously 52 per cent), 40 per cent of the polled voice their confidence in the Senate (55 per cent last December) and 38 per cent in the Sejm (previously 57 per cent).

38 per cent of the polled trust Solidarity (52 per cent last December) and every fifth respondent (22 per cent) has confidence in the trade unions affiliated in the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance, against 24 percent last December.

34 per cent of the respondents think that staging strikes is rather wrong in the present situation, 18 per cent that it is decidedly wrong. However, 30 percent of the polled believe that strikes are ok and another 9 per cent firmly back strikes.

Answering a question whether strikes staged in Poland recently do people more good or bad, about 64 per cent said that more bad, 23 per cent were of the opposite opinion and the rest were undecided.

Asked whether one should take into account the fact whether a candidate was once a PUWP (communist) member when staffing important posts, most respondents answered that absolutely no (23 percent) and rather not (32 percent). Every fifth (19 per cent) person polled said that, on the contrary, a former PUWP membership should be firmly taken into account in such situations and equally often (19) per cent concurred in a stand that this should rather be taken into account.

Minister Seeks Acceptability of Reprivatization

AU1503095891 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Mar 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Ownership Transformations Minister Janusz Lewandowski by Krystyna Milewska; place and date not given: "An Area Of Tension"]

[Excerpt] [Milewska] In the middle of privatization we have the problem of reprivatization. After all, everything in Poland used to belong to someone. Now everything should be returned to its rightful owner, and quickly. How far do you think this reprivatization should go? Should the old decrees on nationalization and the agricultural reform also be lifted?

[Lewandowski] We are not in a position to reproduce the period before the war, or even the one just after. I view these things through the eyes of one who implements the law, because what matters to me is the technical and economic possibility of implementation. I have to look at things that way, regardless of moral sentiments or legal wranglings. The government has already taken a line on reprivatization, and will discuss it with the president and Parliament. It would be bad if the central bodies of authority disagreed with each other on this subject. That would be an excellent opportunity for a political contest. There is no problem about restoring property that was nationalized in 1958. In fact, a lot of it has already been restored, but the restoration of property nationalized in other years is more difficult. We are in constant touch with a group of former landowners and industrialists. As I said, I view these things from the point of view of their technical feasibility and social acceptability. We must also take into account the opinion of state farm employees, tenants, and factory employees, especially those who would like to acquire shares. [passage omitted]

Tyminski Forms, Registers 'Party X'

LD1503092891 Warsaw PAP in English 2322 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Stanislaw Tyminski, former presidential candidate, formed a new party under the name of "Party X" which was registered in Warsaw on March 13.

By unofficial estimates some 40,000 people have declared their readiness to join the party.

Economic Cooperation Accord Signed With Quebec

LD1503101391 Warsaw PAP in English 2259 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Polish Vice-Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Olechowski and Quebec's Minister for External Affairs John Ciacci

signed here today a statement on the agreement between the Polish Government and the Province of Quebec concerning the development of trade and economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation.

The document, putting main stress on the economic sphere, defines major fields of cooperation in the power industry, telecommunications, the agricultural and food processing industry, and the environmental protection.

The governments of both countries form a framework for developing economic cooperation while businessmen from Poland and Canada, guided by profit motivations, should carry it, Andrzej Olechowski told PAP.

Alongside John Ciacci, an economic mission from Quebec made up of managers of several Canadian firms interested in concrete investment projects in Poland arrived in Warsaw. Today they met with representatives of Polish commercial and industrial firms.

FSN's Iordache Not To Run for Party Leadership

AU1403204691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharets ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—"I have not handed my resignation from the National Salvation Front [FSN] vice-presidency, but I make it clear that I have no longer the intention to candidate for the bodies to be elected by the FSN convention whose proceedings will start Friday, March 15," Mr. Claudiu Iordache told a ROMPRES editor.

Mr. Claudiu Iordache says the reason for his decision is that his proposals to reorganize FSN as a party, to ensure moral rectitude of that organization's structures at all levels, and to adopt a governmental reform likely to lead to the creation of a state of law and a market economy failed to be supported by the other FSN representatives.

"I have also proposed," Mr. Iordache said, "that the FSN, as the first-born and most important party of post-Ceausescu Romania, should assume the responsibility to clarify the events of the December 1989 revolution, contribute to revealing the truth a whole nation expects from it and prove that it is a party springing from and owing everything to the December revolution whose merits it is called to defend. My idea is that FSN ought to involve itself in building efficient administrative structures ridden from inefficient persons from the old structures. I demanded that FSN clearly dissociate itself from nationalist and ultra-nationalist movements and disapprove the attempts of newspapers such as "ROMANIA MARE," "EUROPA" or "DEMOCRATIA" to discredit the December revolution. There too I failed to get their adhesion and I find once more that I am alone."

Mr. Claudiu Iordache specified he would continue to be a FSN member and deputy.

FSN Leader in Deputies' Assembly Replaced

AU1403194591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1516 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—The Assembly of Deputies resumed proceedings in Bucharest, on Thursday morning.

They started debating and endorsing the bill of the statute of Romania's National Bank. To sustain the bill was invited to the rostrum by the initiators Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor of Romania's National Bank. [passage omitted]

The FSN [National Salvation Front] Parliamentary Group in the Assembly of Deputies elected by vote Deputy Alexandru Albu as their leader.

The replacement of the leader comes after former leader Liviu Muresan's appointment on the group of parliamentarians who will represent Romania in the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

National Press Freedom To Be Curtailed

AU1403153291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Mar 91 p 2

[MTI report: "The Press Is Responsible—Romanian Leaders Fear for Their Authority"]

[Text] The Romanian Government wants a separate law to ensure the good behavior of the press toward the state authorities, the Army, and the police. According to a newly formed private press agency, the A.M. Press, the government submitted a bill to the Parliament last week that stipulates that "slandering and denigrating" the aforementioned institutions in the press is regarded as a punishable crime.

On the basis of the aforementioned bill, journalists found guilty of such a crime can be fined from 20,000 to 500,000 lei, or sentenced from one to six months in prison. The most severe punishment would be given to those who offend the president's honor.

According to the new press agency, this proposal had been submitted to the Parliament before Prime Minister Petre Roman left for Latin America. The bill limiting the freedom of the press caused an uproar in the press trade unions, especially because Petre Roman's government had previously reached an agreement with them that stipulates that the government will not initiate any new press law until the adoption of the new constitution. The trade unions continue to stick to this agreement, and they intend to protest against any kind of separate legislation that precedes the Constitution.

The statement issued by the president's press office one week ago that accused some dailies—including the ROMANIA LIBERA— of slandering and denigrating the president was a bad omen in relations between the central power and the (opposition) press. In its 1 March issue, ROMANIA LIBERA published an article entitled "Whom Did We Elect on 20 May" in which the author called the president and the prime minister "puppets of the Securitate, which is trying to preserve itself."

The aforementioned presidential statement concludes by saying that given the responsibility of his office in preserving respect for democracy and national interest, President Iliescu calls attention to the fact that in addition to journalists, editors and publishers are also morally and legally responsible for slandering.

Iliescu's Council of Europe Award Criticized

AU1403124091 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 9 Mar 91 pp 1,3

[Unattributed editorial: "About a Medal Awarded by the Council of Europe"]

[Text] The Romanian public was surprised that Mr. Ion Iliescu was recently awarded the "Honorary Medal of the Council of Europe" for the alleged role he has played "in

the process of affirming and building democracy in Romania." This reason has puzzled numerous advocates of genuine democracy in our country and has confused others, including sincere friends of Western countries.

The May 1990 elections were not free, because they were preceded by an election campaign full of violence and acts of intimidation launched and controlled by the National Salvation Front [FSN]. The ruling party, which lacks a program, has been set up on the basis of the former Romanian Communist Party. It assumed the role of both arbiter and competitor in these elections. Freedom of speech, an essential element of genuine democracy, has been systematically and flagrantly violated, not only because of the granting of minimum possibilities to opposition parties, but especially by the organizing (by the FSN) of shock troops that stopped the opposition from contacting the public by making use of the most violent and most brutal methods. There were innumerable acts of abuse and violence against the opposition and there were even criminal acts. The atmosphere during the election campaign was one of terror. From this point of view, the situation was more serious than in 1946. This explains, among other things, why there were large parts of the population, especially in villages, who had no knowledge about the existence of opposition parties. The opportunity of the electorate to choose between two or more alternatives was of no value. The position of the FSN was defended by the repressive bodies and the former administrative structures, bodies that are unchanged and fiercely defended their positions.

The elections on 20 May 1990 were dishonest and completely unfair. After the FSN confiscated the revolution, it also confiscated the communist totalitarian state and, ever since 23 January 1990, identified itself with it. In actual fact, the democratic opposition parties competed with the communist totalitarian state and not with just any party. This state termed FSN had at its disposal all the money and riches in our country and all our institutions, beginning with the Securitate and the Army, as well as all factories, transportation means, and especially mass media, specifically television, which it used for its benefit and against the opposition parties, which totally lacked such means. Our country's assets, other means, and institutions should not belong exclusively to one party. These assets, means, and institutions were used in a completely abusive and immoral way against those who were entitled to use them. The FSN ensured its "victory" in the elections through violence, intimidation, and disinformation.

The actions taken by the FSN after the elections were profoundly antidemocratic and culminated in horrendous vandalism organized and led by the political power against the opposition from 13-15 June 1990 for the unmistakable purpose of annihilating the opposition. Measures for punishing the guilty ones and for repairing the tremendous damage caused to the political parties and university and private institutions were rejected.

For such acts, democratic countries would normally have broken off diplomatic relations with the guilty authorities. Instead it was deemed fit to award a medal to the chief of these authorities.

The awarding of the said medal reminds the Romanian public of the innumerable honors and medals awarded to N. Ceausescu and his wife by chiefs of the developed states, despite the protests of the democratic forces in the country, and despite the fact that those who awarded these medals were perfectly aware of the situation in Romania.

The main victim of such diplomatic amiability was and still is the Romanian people.

Organizations Protest Upcoming Moldova Referendum

PNT-cd Independent Wing Protests

AU1403122491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1007 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—The leadership of the Craiova-based Independent Wing of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd] released a protest expressing their staunch veto against the Soviet Union's attempt to prolong, through a referendum exploiting the present situation, its grip on the territories of Bessarabia and Bucovina snatched from the Romanian people through the Ribbentrop-Molotov criminal pact. The resistance of the Romanian people in Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina is, for the whole world, an unquestionable act of self-defense, reads the protest.

PNL Young Wing Voices Objections

AU1403203791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2000 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—We think that the Soviet authorities which have initiated projects pursuing the democratization of the whole economic, social and political system in the USSR will have to pass from words to deeds, hence, with the denunciation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty, to the restitution, de facto and de jure, of the sovereignty, integrity of frontiers and independence of the annexed territories, reads a statement released today by the National Liberal Party [PNL] -Young Wing.

That is why the National Liberal Party-Young Wing considers but natural to address the USSR leadership asking it to cancel the organization on 17 March 1991 of a referendum in the Republic of Moldova, cancellation which will be a proof of observance of international law, as well as of political wisdom, the statement emphasizes.

Moldova People's Front Solidarity League Set Up

AU1403122791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1012 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—A League of Solidarity with the People's Front of Moldova has been set up in Bucharest, by writer George Bocsa, editor Ion Cristea and Engineers Antoniu Teculescu and Stefan Radulian.

The League will concert its initiatives and demarches in the cultural, social, economic and political domains with the activity of the People's Front of Moldova, upon the principle of brotherhood and community of ancestral customs.

A subeditorial board of the weekly "TARA—DEGETUL PE RANA" of the People's Front of Moldova. [sentence as received]

The first political act of the new league is the adhesion to the declaration of the 25 political parties, organizations, associations and trade unions in Romania, released on March 13, that speak up against the USSR intention to organize a referendum in the Republic of Moldova on March 17, 1991.

UDMR Rejects Extremism in Ethnic Ties

AU1403190791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1724 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—"Our Union is, by definition, pluralist, and sets itself the task to defend the rights of the Hungarian population (in Romania), Geza Domokos, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania-UDMR, says in an interview with the daily "ADEVARUL," and adds that UDMR which is not a party but rather an alliance, is not exclusively ethnic—its statutes stipulating that any Romanian citizen can be a member of the Union.

Referring to the celebration of 15 March, Geza Domokos is of the opinion this day has always been, and must remain day of liberty, of brotherhood among peoples, of the ideals of the 1848 revolution.

The UDMR chairman stresses he doesn't agree to principle 10 passed by the Constituent Assembly, according to which political parties formed on religious or linguistic criteria are non- constitutional. "We think this encroaches upon political rights, the more so as there are many such parties in Europe."

Speaking about the recrudescence of nationalistic tendencies at work now in the whole eastern Europe, Geza Domokos underlines Hungary is no exception. "Certain assertions I read in the press issued in Hungary prove realities in Romania are not known, which consequently leads to complications in inter-statal relations and difficulties in the situation of the Hungarians living in Romania" says Geza Domokos. He mentions UDMR had pointed to such negative phenomena during talks with journalists, politicians, diplomats of Hungary and mentions in his opinion "the mass-media both in Hungary and Romania should be more balanced, should pay more attention to nuances, especially as far as delicate problems are concerned, as long as historic traumas are still aching."

Geza Domokos underlines that UDMR is under pressure both from home and from abroad, both from Romanian ultranationalists and Hungarian ones. To exemplify, he refers to the publication of a letter by the Transylvania Society, of Hungarian immigrants in western Europe, severely criticizing UDMR and its chairman for "being conciliatory and lacking firmness in representing the interests of the Hungarians." " We answered, specified Geza Domokos, the accusations did not take into account realities in Romania and the yearnings of the Hungarians living here."

RMDSZ Protests Negative Press Campaign

AU1403124591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Mar 91 p 2

[MTI report: "Accepting RMDSZ Guarantees"]

[Text] Laszlo Pillich, Cluj County deputy of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ], recently stated: "We do not want to hurt anyone with the commemoration of this anniversary, with the evocation of 15 March [anniversary of the 1848 Hungarian uprising against the Habsburgs], a date that has been preserved in our collective memory. At the same time, we cannot tolerate that some people insult our individual and collective dignity, that they create new tensions by making absurd accusations, or that they offend the RMDSZ."

Following the speech made last week in the Senate by RMDSZ General Secretary Geza Szocs, Laszlo Pillich, addressing the Romanian Deputies' Assembly, tried to dispel Romanian misunderstandings and unfamiliarity with the 15 March anniversary. Over the last few days, several dailies have been feeding the people with misunderstandings concerning this anniversary, thereby stirring up bad feelings.

Ioan Cancea, Harghita County deputy of the National Salvation Front, reacted to the statements made by Laszlo Pillich in a constructive and sensible way. Cancea declared that people had to acknowledge and understand the RMDSZ's guarantee that the commemoration would not be directed against anyone. Cancea called upon all Transylvanian deputies and senators to join forces to alleviate ethnic tensions. Cancea stressed: "We have to distance ourselves from any form of extremism or chauvinism, regardless of where it is coming from. We cannot continue with this policy of ethnic instigation."

Hungarians in Romania hope that Ioan Cancea's statements will prove to be the first signs of a change in attitude within Romania's government party.

'Open Skies' Accord To Allow Aerial Surveillance

LD1403104391 Budapest MTI in English 0950 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, March 14 (MTI)—Hungarian and Romanian Foreign Ministry officials and military experts held talks in Bucharest on Tuesday and Wednesday on the text of an "Open Skies" agreement the two countries are soon to conclude.

Aimed at building confidence between the two countries, the agreement will make it possible for unarmed aircraft to carry out a specified number of surveillance flights a year over the other country's territory.

So far Hungary has only concluded an agreement of this kind with Canada, the first one between a Warsaw Treaty country and a NATO member state. The agreement to be signed with Romania will be the first one between two member states of the Warsaw Treaty, which is now in the process of being dissolved.

Roman Concludes Visit to Brazil; Leaves for Home

AU1403191291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1720 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman's 10 to 13 March tour of Brazil upon the invitation of Brasilia President Fernando Collor, came to an end.

The talks revealed the mutual interest in developing bilateral relations and the nearness or identity of the two countries' viewpoints on the main issues of international life.

Asked by the economic correspondent of the national press agency ROMPRES, to comment on the Romanian prime minister's visit, President Collor said: "Our relations with Romania will get, due to Prime Minister Roman's visit, a new impulse, will acquire dynamism. I entertain the belief that this is the first step of a long but extremely positive path which the Romanian and Brazilian peoples have taken to reach their aims and accomplish their ideals."

"One of the subjects I approached with your prime minister was the recuperation of the River Danube. Brazil will host the second world conference on development and environment in 1992. We wish to tackle the topic at a global level and to contribute to maintaining the ecological balance of the world. The Romanian prime minister can already count on the firm support of Brazil in the strive to redeem this natural wealth Romania and the planet earth have, that is the River Danube."

"This problem of environment protection, which captivates us, merged with our common will, also unites us through the ideals we cherish for the edification of a fraternal world."

Stops in Senegal En Route to Bucharest

AU1403203891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—After the visits paid to a number of Latin American countries Prime Minister Petre Roman stopped in Dakar on his way to Bucharest.

The stopover occasioned the handing over of a message from President Ion Iliescu to the president of Senegal Abdou Diouf, president of the summit conference of French speaking countries.

The Romanian prime minister and other Romanian officials talked to members of the Senegalese Government holding offices in the spheres of the economy, agriculture, resources and fishing, of international cooperation.

The Senegalese dignitaries pointed to the interest their country sows in increasing bilateral exchanges. Possibilities were outlined of turning to best account iron ores in that country, exploiting Senegal's fish reserves, and exporting foodstuffs, fabrics a.o. [among others] to Romania. The two parties' interest is apparent in developing cooperation in culture, including participation in the activity of francophony.

Returns, Makes Statement on Arrival

AU1403203991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Statement by Prime Minister Petre Roman at Otopeni Airport upon return from visit to Latin America—date not given]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—Appreciating as "very good" his meetings with high officials in the visited countries—Chile, Ecuador, Brazil—Prime Minister Petre Roman stated on his arrival in Bucharest: Besides the warm welcome and friendship we have been extended to, we agreed that real possibilities exist to expand and strengthen our economic, commercial, cultural and scientific relations with the three countries.

I also had, let's say, political meetings with parliamentarians in each visited country. In each country I presented our country's situation and I noticed a very great interest for today's Romania. Last but not least I had many contacts with businessmen, industrialists, merchants whom I gave a lot of information and explanations to materialize industrial projects, to achieve increased trade relations so that we could capitalize each country's mutual interest in reciprocity.

Our governments have the duty to supply a maximum of legal instruments with which the economic, commercial and industrial agents may operate. To this end, I think and I said it there, too that the distance could be shortened only by one way, namely by creating a continuous flow of goods, products, services, information,

cultural and educational exchanges so that something meaning cooperation, exchanges between countries could happen any moment. Very important to this end are the longer-term and more ample industrial projects which we have tried to conclude both in Chile and in Ecuador and especially in Brazil, a country with really extraordinary possibilities. Anyhow, I am convinced I did what I had to do both for Romania's image in that part of the world of great interest for our country and to find and diversify those raw materials sources, products and goods which we badly need to render the Romanian economy more dynamic, the Romanian prime minister stated on his arrival on the Otopeni Airport after his ten-day visit to Latin America.

News Conference on Foreign Policy Initiatives

AU1403204791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—In his weekly press conference Mr. Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, answering a question about the Romanian and Moldovan consulates in Chisinau [Kishinev] and Iasi respectively, pointed out that the regulations in force in the USSR did not allow the Soviet republics to set up consular relations with other states. That is why we have a USSR consulate in Iasi and not a Moldovan one. "We had to choose between having a USSR consulate and not having one at all."

Referring to the decisions made by the UN Committee 661 in connection with losses in 21 states, which were the most markedly affected by the application of sanctions against Iraq, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman for the Romanian Foreign Ministry, said in his weekly press conference that as far as the Romanian Government was concerned, the foreign minister had opened demarches with the developed European states, with the U.S.A., Canada and Japan, as well as with the heads of the specialized institutions within the UN system, the World Bank included. Action was also taken at the UN for concerted activities on the part of the respective states to promote their interest in getting international assistance with a view to diminishing losses. A group of the 21 states was unofficially created and they held several meetings in New York agreeing on concerted actions. On March 8 the group met under the chairmanship of Romania's permanent representative to the UN. The meeting was attended by an assistant to the UN secretary general for development and economic cooperation. The talks centered on coordinated actions on the part of the 21 states to overcome the current situation, which they all considered as unsatisfactory, and apply the recommendations of Committee 661. The practical conclusions was a change in the attitude of the states and of international bodies in the sense of support to the countries affected by the sanctions taken against Iraq.

Ambassador Traian Chebeleu informed that a draft document was being worked out by the representatives of five states, Romania included, to highlight the urgent need to support the countries adversely affected by those sanctions and suggest adequate ways of granting the necessary assistance to compensate the economic losses suffered.

On his way to Brazil, said the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman made a stop-over in Guayaquil, Ecuador, where he had talks with that state's governor and with a group of businessmen, and it was convened that a representative delegation of them come to Bucharest in the next months to find practical modalities of action in keeping with the agreements concluded with Ecuador's Government during the Romanian prime minister's visit.

On his return home, today, March 14, Mr. Petre Roman will make a stop-over at Dakar to hold talks with Senegal's President Abdou Diouf.

Referring to the recent visit Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase has paid to Yugoslavia, a country with which Romania has traditional relations of friendship, good neighbourliness and collaboration, Mr. Traian Chebeleu specified that that was a good opportunity to valuate the stage of the relations and to convene new measures to intensify those ties as well as the exchange of information and opinions on international issues, especially those referring to Europe, the Mediterranean and the Gulf. We follow with attention the evolution of the democratization process in Yugoslavia, the achievement of a consensus for a new state structure in that country, the spokesman mentioned, specifying that the events in Belgrade in the last days reflect the complex circumstances of the democratization process also marked by moments of tension and social convulsion. We are confident, he said, that the political forces in that country will find the necessary resources to peacefully settle all that country's problems, to harmonize pluralist interests in keeping with the stipulations of the CSCE documents and with the new processes taking shape on the European continent.

In connection with the Bucharest visit of the Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, when analysis was made of certain aspects concerning the draft treaty of cooperation, good neighbourliness and friendliness between Romania and the Soviet Union, Mr. Traian Chebeleu specified that decisive progresses were made regarding the future treaty which is to replace the old one signed in 1970 which both sides considered as obsolete. In essence, he said, the new treaty lays the stress on the questions concerning the collaboration and good neighbourliness and proposes the beginning of a system of consultations in foreign policy issues which could affect the security interests of the two countries. Therefore, the pattern of mutual military assistance treaty was given up.

In connection with the Bucharest meeting of the groups of experts in economic cooperation in the Black Sea

region from Bulgaria, Romania, the Soviet Union and Turkey, Mr. Traian Chebeleu specified that its proceedings emphasised the convergence of opinions according to which the cooperation zone should be conceived as an integrant part of the CSCE process as well as of the concerns for the creation of a common European space. The framework and modalities of collaboration are called upon to contribute to the development of national economies and to their increased integration into the world economy. The countries bordering on the Black Sea start from the principle that their goals will be achieved step by step, in keeping with the specific conditions of their economies and they express their full availability to attract the economic and financial potential of any third part interested. The common understanding exists that a broad collaboration of all states bordering on the Black Sea would contribute to the increase of mutual confidence and of stability in that region, Mr. Chebeleu said.

The elaboration and application of an "Open Skies" agreement between Romania and Hungary is part of the efforts to further increase confidence, development of collaboration and promotion of ties of good neighbourliness, stated the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs referring to the recent Bucharest meeting on that subject, underscoring that, as in the first session in Budapest, the proceedings of that Bucharest meeting were held in a constructive and efficient spirit. He appreciated that the text as well as the appendices of the agreement convened as "a European premiere," "being made so as to serve as a cooperation instrument between the two countries."

Mr. Traian Chebeleu informed that on March 15 the exhumation ceremony will take place at the Belu Cemetery in Bucharest of the mortal remains of former Polish Foreign Minister Josef Beck, 1932- 1939—to be returned to his homeland. After Poland's invasion, Josef Beck took refuge to Romania where he died on June 5, 1944. The Polish refugees, dignitaries or mere citizens, the spokesman specified, enjoyed the Romanian hospitality, the Romanian Government's care in the conditions of increasing pressure of the Hitlerite government over Romania's leadership. Romania was requested, for example, to turn Beck in to Germany.

The exhumation of Beck's remains as well as the unveiling of a commemorative plaque and the naming of the Polish-made hospital in Bucharest—after the March 1977 earthquake—after scholar Maria Skladovska Curie precede an important moment in the Romanian-Polish relations, namely the visit Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase is to pay to Warsaw at the end of March.

Iliescu Receives French Parliamentarians

AU1403203691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1952 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—Through its democratic organizations, the Senate in particular, France is very close to Romania, to its Romanian friends to be at their side on the road of changes, stated on Thursday, 14 March, Jean Puech, chairman of the France-Romania Friendship Group of the French Senate, after President Ion Iliescu received the delegation he is heading.

During the talk the French senators referred to the changes taking place in Romania, assessing that this country had embarked on the road to democracy which, in its entire dimension, implies numerous difficulties which are real and in the overcoming of which the Romanian leadership shows a lot of will.

Reference was made on the same occasion to aspects related to Romania's future constitutional framework, to the course of the traditional links between the two countries and nations and their development prospects.

In his turn Senator Romulus Vulpescu, chairman of the Romania- France Friendship Group, who attended the meeting, stated: We have regained our old friends. They leave convinced not only that we do not deserve this but also that they have the duty to make up for the old mistakes.

The interview was attended by Renauld Vignal, France's ambassador to Bucharest.

Accord on Status of Workers Employed in FRG

AU1403191391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/3/1991—Over March 11-13, 1991 negotiations were held in Bucharest between delegations of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection in Romania and the Ministry of Labour and Social Order in Germany in connection with the governmental convention on the employment of Romanian staff to work in Germany with contracts and on the collaboration in labour and social questions fields.

Documents were signed concerning the expansion of collaboration possibilities as part of the convention concluded in 1990 and the cooperation agreement between the two ministries.

The German delegation met and exchanged opinions with the Romanian minister of labour and social protection, Catalin Zamfir, as well as with other executives in that ministry and with the head of the Public Works and Constructions Department.

The members of the German delegation also had contacts with representatives of Romanian constructions companies and paid a documentary visit to the Labour and Social Protection Department of Dimbovita County.

Justice Minister on Resolving Conflicting Issues

LD1503092991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2157 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—Federal Minister of Justice and Administration Vlado Kambovski today said that, in the recent Belgrade events, the multiparty system has shown all its advantages in resolving conflicts between differring interests by non-violent means.

The multiparty assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, at its session on March 12, met the demands of students who had been protesting in Belgrade for three days. The protests followed upon the killing of two people in the March 9 opposition demonstrations.

In a statement for the Yugoslav mass media, Kambovski said that the federal government was firmly against demands for declaring a state of emergency in the country and for resorting to a policy of force and coercion.

Kambovski also presented the federal government's stand that all conflicting issues in the country should be transferred to the multiparty assemblies.

According to this federal minister, the freedom of information is the true barrier against the attempts at creating political and other monopolies and manipulating the public opinion.

Republics Hold Differing Views on Future

AU1403144491 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 91 pp 14-16

[Stojan Cerovic commentary: "Two Plus Two Plus Two Plus JNA"]

[Text] The devil himself must have pointed his finger at this country. Everything has become impossible here: both fighting and negotiations, both preserving the state and dissolving it, and particularly maintaining the present situation. Even the immediate future in the next several weeks has become obscure.

After the Sarajevo seance of the Yugoslav summit, the possibility of finding any kind of unified solution for the Yugoslav problem is definitely out. This is how [Bosnia-Hercegovina President] Alija Izetbegovic, the man who seemed to care for such a solution more than any other negotiator, has put it. That is the least one could say, because the Slovene Assembly had adopted the resolution on the "division" of Yugoslavia even before that. (It is believed that division is a nicer word than secession and, it also represents an attempt to share responsibility for secession with all the others.) Moreover, the Croatian Assembly approved of this resolution and, a day before the Sarajevo session, suspended the Federal Constitution.

This has somehow confronted the negotiators with a fait accompli, and put Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina into a particularly difficult position because these republics made their positions conditional on the preservation of Yugoslavia. Izetbegovic tried to offer the formula of an asymmetrical federation, something that was not well received and immediately created troubles for him in his own republic. According to that idea, Slovenia and Croatia would have confederate relations, Serbia and Montenegro federal, and Bosnia and Macedonia would be somewhere in between. Hence Tudjman's conclusion that the ratio established was 2:2:2. In fact, this formula represents more a description of the relations than any kind of state solution that could promise stability.

A Sensitive Point

Moreover, this idea lived for only a few days. The largest Macedonian party, the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] immediately demanded that the Macedonian Assembly adopt a declaration on the division of Yugoslavia. This has so far not been accepted, but [Macedonian President] Kiro Gligorov has resolutely rejected any possibility of an asymmetrical federation in which Macedonia would remain in a federation with Serbia and Montenegro, and insisted on full sovereignty for his republic. The previous orientation toward a union of republics [savez republika] has now become firmer in Macedonia and now one speaks about a community [zajednica] of sovereign states, something that has already changed the aforementioned formula into 3:2:1.

As for Bosnia, at least as far as SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] are concerned, the formula could already be 4:2. After trying to find reach some compromise at the summit, Alija Izetbegovic was forced to defend himself from the accusations that he does not have a clear stand, that he is making concessions to Milosevic, and that he does not speak completely independently. This is why, speaking at the marathon session of the Bosnian Assembly last Wednesday [27 February], he clearly said: I would sacrifice peace for the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but I would not sacrifice Bosnia for peace!" After this, there is obviously no dilemma about whether Serbia's diplomatic efforts in winning Izetbegovic and the Muslims over to its side are going to be successful. This does not at all mean that joining the "confederalists" would be a mere child's play for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] and its leader Radovan Karadzic firmly keep to Slobodan Milosevic's slogan: All Serbs should live in one state. They are rejecting the declaration on the sovereignty and indivisibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina which was prepared by SDA and supported by HDZ. Some of the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs even said that this party's deputies are going to walk out of the Assembly session if the declaration is put on the agenda, but have failed to do so. Anyway, the declaration can be adopted only without

Serbian votes, and such a polarization is something that has always been most feared in Bosnia.

All Yugoslav interethnic disputes and territorial pretensions have now finally been reduced to their most sensitive point, the problem of the Bosnian Serbs. They are the only obstacle for this last Yugoslav republic (except for Montenegro) to cement its borders and to enter negotiations as an independent and sovereign entity and on an equal footing. The Croats agree to Bosnia becoming such, but are undoubtedly doing so under the condition that the Serbs renounce their pretensions to this republic. The Bosnian Serbs insist on a dual loyalty, something that was best expressed by Radovan Karadzic when he said that in the event Yugoslavia survives, they will be represented by Izetbegovic, but in the event it breaks apart—by Slobodan Milosevic. Proclamation of sovereignty is considered to be a definite breakup—in the spirit of Milosevic's stand that confederation is not a state.

Of course, it would be easy to outvote SDS deputies in the Bosnian Assembly, but everybody there knows that this would mean no peace any longer, just as Karadzic should know that he cannot endlessly block decisions of a republic on behalf of a people that constitutes but a third of its population. He is the only trump left to Slobodan Milosevic, whose political failure would be complete if he failed to expand Serbia's territory (because he sacrificed everything for that cause) or at least connect Bosnia-Hercegovina to it. Montenegro is already considered to be unconditionally loyal, and one reckons that Macedonia will have no other option.

Readiness for Adventure

Slobodan Milosevic is undoubtedly the central figure of the Yugoslav negotiations. This is not because of his contribution or initiatives, but his arrogant attitude and an obvious effort to block the talks and represent them as impossible. This was also the point of the women's meeting [in Belgrade on 8 February, in front of the building in which SFRY Presidency session was being held] because of which Tudjman and Mesic did not come to Belgrade. It was proposed to the other negotiators to hold talks without them or to agree that the talks were pointless. The Serbian side insisted on an announcement on a complete failure of the dialogue with the Croatian delegation ("relations have never been worse"), and, after Sarajevo, [SFRY Presidency President] Borisav Jovic felt the need to somewhat correct the official announcement and the statement that "there has been no progress on any issue." The president obviously does not consider it advisable to express any optimism, something one should interpret as a very definite political message, because politicians normally consider it to be their duty to express hope.

Most probably, Milosevic agreed to hold talks very reluctantly. He did agree to hold them because both domestic public and foreign factors expected him to do so, but he certainly realizes that his aims cannot be reached in that way. The course so far has shown that the sovereignty of the republics, as well as their borders, are only becoming firmer and that the negotiators are becoming completely equal. Apart from a total lack of negotiating and diplomatic tact and talent ("nothing doing") [reference to Slobodan Milosevic's words addressed to SFRY Presidency Member Vasil Tupurkovski at the expanded Presidency session in Belgrade on 8 February], Milosevic is now harvesting the bitter fruits of his own policy of three years that made Serbia the least desirable ally in Yugoslavia. There is nobody, except for Momir Bulatovic, whom Milosevic can convince that he does not want to dominate, and he is also still bearing the communist burden rejected by four Yugoslav republics. He is only losing by these negotiations, and it is almost certain that he will try very soon to make a gesture that would lead to their interruption.

As much as that may resemble a dangerous and hopeless adventure, Milosevic will probably try to change the means. In that respect General Stevan Mirkovic is right in saying that it is more likely that the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [SK-PJ] will influence the SPS than the opposite. The connection between these two parties is obvious, and the SK-PJ can count on the Army, whose support Milosevic seeks more and more, although that deprives him of the position of Serbian leader. The SK-PJ, however, cannot count on winning elections anywhere in Yugoslavia, not even in Serbia. This party and its leaders certainly harbor no illusions about this, but nevertheless have a more and more offensive approach and do not conceal their ambitions. Their only chance lies in the Army taking over power and the SK-PJ taking the place of the former League of Communists.

There would have been no point in wasting any effort trying to prove the hopelessness of such renewal projects, even if the top Army leadership is harboring hopes about them. Nevertheless, Serbia's attitude in the negotiations makes one think that even such an option is counted upon if things go that far. Because, if Serbia is not sufficiently devoting itself to the negotiations, that can only mean that it is relying on the use of force, and it does not have any force apart from the Army. In that case, the Army would try to renew socialist Yugoslavia, that is, an ideological state, and—as a by-product—would manage to make all Serbs live together. Milosevic may be willing to accept this, although for him the order of priorities would be the reverse. Or, perhaps not.

That would be the end of Milosevic, of ideology, of Yugoslavia, and of the Serbian dream of a national state.

Pregl 'Satisfied' With Visit to United States

AU1403195991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 91 p 6

[Report on interview with Federal Executive Council Vice President Zivko Pregl by Slobodan Pavlovic on 2 March; place not given: "You Must (First) Help Yourself"]

[Excerpts] New York—"In Washington, we did what could be done. Let us now wait and see what will be done in Belgrade."

This was stated by FEC Vice President Zivko Pregl the day before yesterday when we asked him to sum up his visit to the United States. The visit, which took place between Tuesday and Friday noon, was characterized by numerous meetings and, as he said, useful talks at all relevant state, congressional, and international-monetary levels in Washington, and, at the end, by a meeting in New York with Yugoslav business representatives in the United States.

In the tight schedule of a visit to the United States of a vice prime minister of a country in trouble, like ours, everything is, of course, important, but one thing is more important than others. Here is what Zivko Pregl said about that:

"We tried to point out to our partners in the IMF and the World Bank that they can play an active role in our government's 11-point plan. A declaration of support alone is not sufficient. Support should be manifested through speeding up the procedure concerning the second installment of the SAL-2 [expansion not known] and the next stand-by arrangement. In this way, we told them, they could strengthen the position of the government they support and ensure the necessary material conditions for a democratic denouement. In other words, we tried to activate their position.

[Pavlovic] What did they say about this?

[Pregl] The progress made during this dialogue is reflected in the fact that we managed to focus our talks on several specific steps. They now want to see how the federal budget is going work. They are also waiting to see some tangible proof that the republics will respect the 11 points contained in the FEC's program that has already been accepted. [passage omitted]

[Pavlovic] So one can say that you returning home satisfied, that you are more pleased today than you were before you left?

[Pregl] I am satisfied. We did what we could. There are still many things to be done at home. I think that we could be satisfied with the stand of the international organizations and the U.S. Administration. They both stated that they were ready to help us. They also told us that if they are to help us, we have to help ourselves too. What this specifically means is: make this final move, let us see whether these 11 points are indeed a firm answer necessary for further cooperation.

Expressing the view that the U.S. public and the government are comprehensively informed about events in our country, and that they particularly appreciate the contribution that Yugoslavia, as the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, made to the efforts to politically overcome the Middle East crisis, Pregl said that during his meetings in Washington support to united and democratic Yugoslavia was expressed on many occasions. He also said that the state administration circles expressed "serious concern" about Yugoslavia's survival.

They want Yugoslavia to survive, although their strategic interest in Yugoslavia is, of course, somewhat smaller today than it was before. This pressure through international institutions—the dilemma as to whether to help us or not—is in a way an attempt to preserve a Yugoslavia. At the same time, no readiness was expressed at all to start cooperation with the "other option," while the talks are being conducted with us. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria's Macedonian Statement is 'Interference'

LD1403180491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will "reciprocally reply" to the Greek government's decision to cancel further hospitality to a Yugoslav diplomat at the consulate-general in Salonika, a Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman told a regular press conference here today.

The spokesman, Srdjan Kerim, said that Yugoslavia felt Bulgarian Foreign Minister Chakarov's recent statement denying the existence of the Macedonian nation to be interference in its internal affairs. The sovereignty of the Macedonian nation is a matter of accord between that nation and the other Yugoslav republics and nations, he added.

Kerim said that Yugoslavia would take care about the interests of Albanian refugees of Yugoslav origin. This, he added, implies also property-law relations, which could cause "major problems."

SPO Demands Serbian Government Resignation

LD1403202791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1917 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The SPO [Serbian Renaissance Movement] leadership reiterated today at a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists that Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic, Industry Minister Dusan Matkovic, and the entire Serbian government must resign.

The news conference began with a speech by SPO Vice Chairman Jovan Marjanovic about his three-day detention in Padinska Skela. Marjanovic devoted special attention to those who had been arrested on 9 March and who were released yesterday. In his words, the eight detained people had not been kept in prison for criminal offences but because, he showed their letters while speaking, they had been beaten up so badly that they could not appear in public. According to unofficial information, said Marjanovic, 31 of 108 had been seriously injured.

[SPO Chairman] Vuk Draskovic said the authorities intention had been to announce, via "their" media, how demonstrators tortured the police, warning that the SPO "will fight for peace both in and out of the legislature, e.g. through peaceful demonstrations."

Draskovic also called for new multiparty elections at the end of this year or next spring.

Student Leader: Students Saved Serbian Unity

LD1503094191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2342 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—President of the Alliance of Students of Serbia Aleksandar Nikacevic said at a news conference today that the "students saved the unity of Serbia and made possible legislative life in the republic."

Nikacevic headed the committee which organized the student protest in Belgrade, which began on March 10.

The student demonstrations ended at midnight between March 12 and 13, when practically all the demands the students set to the Serbian authorities were fulfilled and when the organizing committee unofficially learned that there existed a threat of an army intervention and that there was a need to assist the Serbian Assembly, Nikacevic said.

Recalling that the student protest was a non-party one, Nikacevic said Serbia's opposition parties had not contributed in the right way to settling the situation and that those watching their rally in central Belgrade on Wednesday could easily have gained the impression that the students had gone over to the opposition's side.

Serb Official: No Need for State of Emergency

LD1503093891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2329 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—Vice President of the Serbian Assembly Borivoje Petrovic has stated that there is no reason whatsoever for imposing a state of emergency in the republic.

In the statement carried by Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI in tomorrow's issue, Petrovic says that the Serbian legislature reached a minimum agreement to open democratic dialogue after demonstrations staged by the opposition and Belgrade University students, which were shaking Yugoslavia's capital and its biggest republic from last Saturday until early this morning.

Meetings organized by political parties are not what Serbia needs at this moment, says Petrovic, appealing to the Serbian citizens to return to work.

Democratic Party president and leader of the legislative democratic group Dragoljub Micunovic told TANJUG that, now that the parties in the legislature have reached compromise, repression must never again be used to suppress rallies. Demonstrations must be peaceful and freedom of information and openness of television are here to stay, he added.

Slobodan Rakitic, the legislative leader of the biggest opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, said that the ruling Socialist Party must recognize the opposition as a fact if it wishes well to the Serbian people.

The Socialist Party must accept dialogue on an equal footing with the opposition as the ideological opponent, and not as an enemy, he explained.

Rakitic maintains that Serbia should turn to itself and its own interests, and that the introduction of democracy in the republic is of the utmost importance.

Serbian Committee Criticizes Belgrade TV

LD1403205791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1914 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—The Committee for Culture and Information of the Serbian legislature today said that, in its programs last year, Belgrade Television had painted an unrealistic picture of the situation in the Republic and thus contributed to the outbreak of an information war in Yugoslavia and degraded the journalistic profession.

The committee also decided that the programs of Belgrade Television had not been objective and had been uncritical of the republican government and the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia.

The committee particularly stressed that it was inexcusable that the two main channels of Belgrade Television had broadcast entertainment programs during the March 9 opposition demonstrations in which two people were killed and over 80 were injured.

The opposition and students staged several-day demonstrations in Belgrade, demanding the resignation of key figures from Belgrade Television, who resigned on Tuesday.

The Serbian legislative said it was necessary that viewers in the entire territory of the Republic should be able to view the programs of Belgrade's independent Studio B television channel, the Yugoslav Government's Television channel Yutel, (currently broadcasting from Sarajevo in the Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina), and Television Politika (of the POLITIKA newspaper publishing house of Belgrade).

A demand submitted today to the Serbian legislative committee by a group of 14 reporters of Belgrade Television's information department draws attention to the need for the Serbian legislature to find, at its next session, permanent replacements to fill the vacancies created with the resignation of Belgrade Television's key figures.

Defense Official: Serbia Requested Military Help

LD1403183791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—General Milan Ruzinovski confirmed on Thursday that Serbia had asked the Yugoslav Army for assistance last Saturday, during the opposition demonstrations in Belgrade.

Yugoslav Defence Secretariat spokesman General Ruzinovski told today's session of the Federal Assembly's internal policy committee that Yugoslav Army units "were involved by a decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, at the request of the Republic of Serbia."

Armoured units of the army "appeared in Belgrade streets after the demonstrations took on a destructive character entailing a loss of human lives," while the "police forces were no longer able to secure order and peace," said General Ruzinovski.

He added that the "Yugoslav Army units did not come into contact with demonstrators or other citizens and did not use firearms and chemical agents."

The fact is that the situation in Belgrade streets has calmed down when the Army units appeared, General Ruzinovski noted.

The armoured units of the Yugoslav Army withdrew the next day.

General Ruzinovski did not reply to some delegates who asked "for what purpose the units went out of the barracks" and "whether the tanks would fire in case the demonstrators did not disperse."

He said he was not authorized to answer those questions. With the same explanation he refused to answer two other questions "Whether it is true that the top army leadership proposed to impose a state of emergency in the country" and "how could the involvement of the Army be approved without the knowledge and agreement of the federal government."

Socialists Condemn 'Forces of Violence'

LD1403202691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—At its session today the main committee of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] issued a proclamation stating that the 9 March demonstration, with its tragic consequences, amounted to an open attempt to win in the streets what was lost at the elections. While not criticizing the government, which is normal for the opposition to do, they were attempting to topple by force the legimate government elected by the citizens of Serbia.

On 9 March the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] tried to conquer the assembly and place it under its banner, to conquer the institutions of the system, and to seize power by force. It lost that battle and it will lose all such battles in the future. We note with regret that following the elections, instead of taking part in the multiparty assembly, the SPO decided to use violence as the shortest route to power. It would be possible to follow such a route if we played the same game, if we were weak, and if the citizens of Serbia accepted chaos and violence and the paralysis of life in the republic. Citizens of the whole of Serbia stood up against such a road of violence. Students, who clearly distanced themselves from the SPO through their message on Republic Square yesterday, stood against such a path of violence.

The forces of violence and chaos again misjudged the situation. We are not weak, the citizens of Serbia do not accept chaos, and we shall not allow violence to win over peace. Every attempt to achieve political objectives against the will of the citizens that was expressed in a legitimate way at the elections must be foiled. The forces of violence will be defeated, and democracy and peace will triumph.

The proclamation goes on to say that the demonstrations were organized at a time when Serbia is trying hard to find a speedy way out of the economic crisis, to implement democratization to ensure the victory of democracy over pressures and anarchy, and to preserve the national integrity and dignity of the Serbian people during the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis. Those who do not understand this or disregard it are directly acting against the interests of Serbia, all its citizens, and the entire Serbian people.

A great number of citizens, workers, and farmers throughout Serbia are publicly demanding that chaos and disorder be averted, because otherwise the republic [of Serbia] and all its citizens will be the loser. Citizens are warning that after so many elections attention should be paid to the realization of economic reforms as soon as possible and the creation of conditions for a better quality of life and that those who are threatening to take power by force and unrest must take into account not only state measures but also the citizens of Serbia.

Peace is the first condition for the normal life of each citizen of Serbia, of each man and his family and above all of our children, the youth and students, the SPS proclamation says. In the name of that peace, the multiparty assembly [of Serbia] has unanimously decided to continue working exclusively in the assembly, and certainly not outside it. At the end of the assembly session, chairmen of the groups of deputies assumed responsibility for the public in the republic [of Serbia], to work with more mutual understanding and respect for differences of opinion in the name of Serbia and the united Serbian people. We were also guided by the fact that averting chaos and anarchy in Serbia is more important than any party's interest as is not allowing the security of its citizens to be threatened, nor allowing the position of Serbs living outside Serbia to deteriorate through internal conflicts.

The SPS maintains that everybody has to participate in work regarding questions of general interest. At this moment normal functioning of the assembly, the government, and life in Belgrade and Serbia is a vital national interest, and the SPS holds that all measures taken must be exposed to the public assessment.

On 9 March Belgrade was subjected to the most horrifying violence since the reign of fascism.

We want to oppose this violence and darkeness with political means and through legal institutions. Should we not be able to achieve this, we shall call on the citizens of Serbia for their help and support. We are positive that together we shall stop the evil looming over Serbia and its people, the SPS proclamation concludes.

Serbian Interior Ministry Denies Arming Serbs

LD1403163191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—In connection with claims made by officials of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] in public information media and at public gatherings that Serbs in villages near Pazar, Sjenica, and Tutin [all in Bosnia-Hercegovina] are allegedly being armed with the help of helicopters of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP], which caused disquiet and fear, the Serbian MUP stated that these claims are false and tendentious. They, the statement adds, are aimed at spreading fear among the population of these municipalities. Appropriate legal measures will be undertaken against persons who are distrubing citizens on territories of municipalities with mixed population, the statement concludes.

Tudjman Likens Army Intervention to Dictatorship

LD1403181991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 14 (TANJUG)—"A military intervention in Yugoslavia would be the same as a military dictatorship," it is "impossible today" because it would "lead to the disintegration of both the Army and Yugoslavia," President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman Thursday told German Suedwestfunk Radio station and the Italian News agency AGI.

Speaking about Yugoslav President Borisav Jovic's attempt to persuade a recent state presidency session to introduce a state of emergency as a result of opposition and student demonstrations in Belgrade, Tudjman explained that this "was aimed at annulling the results of the democratic transformations in Slovenia, Croatia and other republics which came out in favour of a confederation."

"The aim of an Army intervention would be to prevent democratic accord and the forthcoming leadership change in the country's collective head of state," Tudjman said.

The current Yugoslav president's term of office ends on May 15, when he will be replaced by his vice-president and Croatia's reprsentative in the presidency, Stipe Mesic. The Croatian pesident said that the presidency session saw Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia come out against a military intervention.

Commentary on Serbian-Croatian Dialogue Cited

LD1403125191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1038 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 14 (TANJUG)—In a commentary headlined "Foreshadowing an Epoch of Sense," the Zagreb daily on Thursday welcomes a meeting on Wednesday between a delegation of Serbs from Croatia with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Representatives of the branch of the Serbian Democratic Party for Croatian Region Slavonija initiated the meeting, which President Tudjman "wholeheartedly accepted," the daily writes.

Recalling the several months of disputes with the minority Serbian population in this Yugoslav republic, VJESNIK assesses that the meeting was an indication of a "new, hopefully more sensible epoch in relations between Serbs and the legitimately elected authorities in Croatia."

If part of Serbs, the daily sets out, "succeed in severing the umbilical cord with Milosevic's greater Serbian policy, and begins thinking with its own head and working in its own interest, then there would be no more obstacles in the way of achieving a peaceful life together in Croatia," the paper comments.

VJESNIK emphasizes especially that part of the Serbs would assess negatively the meeting on Wednesday between the delegation from Slavonija with Tudjman. All the more so since "there is too much extremism and radicalism among Serbs in Croatia."

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKPRES on Thursday carries the stands of the Council of National Resistance Against Violence over Serbs from Knin, a region in Croatia with predominantls Serbian population.

The council criticizes the meeting on Wednesday between the delegation of Serbs and Tudjman. It describes the meeting as betraying the national interests and the "first defeatist consequences of the rash action of the Serbian opposition and the brutal police intervention of the Serbian police force."

Croatian Television To Broadcast Yutel Programs

LD1403170991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—Croatian television will broadcast Yutel programs on its third channel beginning next Saturday. This announcement was made today at Yutel's news conference.

During the news confernce, information came from Titograd that Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djunkovic had said that he saw no reason why Titograd television should not broadcast Yutel programs and that the appropriate steps would be taken immediately on verification of the decision in the republican assembly.

Yutel's general director Nebosja Tomasevic said that despite persistent attempts, he has failed to make contact with Ratomir Vico, the new director of Belgrade Radio and Television, and that he has sent an open invitation for Belgrade Television to join other television centers and start broadcasting Yutel programs.

Reportage on Kucan Visit to Austria

WA1503153491

For reportage on the visit by Slovene President Milan Kucan to Austria, see the Austria section of the 15 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Bosnian Political Groups View Belgrade Events

LD1403165191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1544 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, March 14 (TANJUG)—The presidents of Bosnia- Hercegovina's Party of Democratic Action (PDA) and the Party of Democratic Changes (PDC), Alija Izetbegovic and Nijaz Durakovic, Thursday called for the consistent depolitization of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Speaking in the republic's capital, Sarajevo, Izetbegovic and Durakovic said it is important to eliminate all attempts to instrumentalize the Army in order to realize the political aims of any single political option.

They also said it is important to preserve the Yugoslav nature of the Army.

Commenting the recent opposition and student demonstrations in Belgrade, the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina (SDP) said it does not support any party in Serbia and came out strongly against the further inflaming of inter-party passions.

Speaking at today's press conference, SDP, the second largest party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, hailed the supra-party initiative of the Belgrade students and said their demands were justified.

SDP said that the Serbian legislature is becoming a place where all parties are genuinely respected, with a tolerant and responsible majority and a constructive minority.

The Muslim Bosnian Organization (MBO), a party with little influence in the republic, said it is necessary to investigate "the abuse of duty and powers" by Yugoslav President Borisav Jovic.

The statement is a reaction to the deployment of tanks on Belgrade's streets last Saturday evening after opposition demonstrations and its clashes with the police left two dead and hundreds injured.

MBO called on all the other members of the Yugoslav State Presidency, specially Bosnia-Hercegovina's representative Bogic Bogicevic, to safeguard the democratic and collective character of the state presidency and prevent the use of the presidency and Army to fulfill the political aims and interests of a single state, i.e. policy. [as received]

Ethnic Albanians Wary of Census Manipulation

LD1403185491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Pristina, March 14 (TANJUG)—Six parties rallying ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo today asked the Yugoslav presidency, the federal government and the federal statistical office to create the necessary conditions for the "participation of the (ethnic) Albanian popualtion in the upcoming census."

The basic requirements for this are the restoration of the constitutional conditions," the withdrawal of police forces from Kosovo and the return of ethnic Albanians to the provincial statistical office, the parties said.

The authorities of the Republic of Serbia, whose part Kosov [word indistinct] imposed special measures in the province last summer, after ethnic Albanian secessionists illegally adopted a constitution proclaiming Kosovo Republic.

Special measures were also introduced in the statistical office of Kosovo, after which its 210 ethnic Albanian employees willfully left their jobs in protest.

The parties [word indistinct] ethnic Albanians asked the competent federal organs that the census of the Albanian population statistical office be in charge of data processing and publication. The purpose of this was said to be aimed at avoiding "extensive possibilities of manipulating with the data." If these requirements are not fulfilled, the "responsible bodies will take on the responsibility for a boycott of the census by (ethnic) Albanians," the parties said. Ethnic Albanians have refused to join the ethnically mixed republican census commissions during the preparations carried out in Serbia. Lately, ethnic Albanian experts came out with the estimates of ethnic Albanian population as accounting for 25 instead of 14 percent of Yugoslavia's popualtion. They also urged internationalization of the issue.

The upcoming, eighth, population census in Yugoslavia will take place from April 1 to 15 this year, and the results will be published by May 15.

Ethnic Albanian Killed; Two Policemen Wounded

LD1403175991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Pristina, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—One ethnic Albanian was killed and two policemen were seriously injured in an armed attack on a police patrol that occurred at about 1040 on the Pristina-Pec road today. According to the special units headquarters of the Serbian Interior Ministry, two unidentified persons got out of a parked Renault and opened fire on the police patrol, wounding the two policemen; one of the policemen then shot dead one of the attackers in self defense. The other two attackers managed to escape. The security service is working on clarifying all the circumstances behind this incident.

Demand for Vojvodina Leader's Resignation

LD1403180391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 14 March (TANJUG)—The meeting of truth, which started two days ago, continues today with approximately 2,000 people in attendance. Its organizers, the Serbian United Opposition first demanded the replacement of the leadership of public media that had contributed to the information blockade in the province [of Vojvodina]. Today, after most of their demands had been met in the meantime, they called on Radoman Bozovic, President of the Vojvodina Assembly Executive Council, to resign.

The demand was handed to Provincial Assembly President Verona Adam-Bokros by a delegation composed of party representatives, opposition deputies from Novi Sad, journalists, and students. Bozovic is given 10 days to leave office, otherwise, new demonstrations will be held. [passage omitted]

DNEVNIK Editor Resigns After Four Hours

LD1403180191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—Svetozar Gavric, recently appointed acting chief and responsible editor of Dnevnik, today tendered his resignation to the post. He was appointed to the post only four hours ago.

Gavric explained in a letter to the Vojvodina executive committee that he resigned because the majority of journalists at DNEVNIK oppose the old practice of appointing editors without previously securing the approval of the employees.

The provincial government appointed Gavric as the acting editor-in-chief of DNEVNIK this morning, following the resignation of Milos Ignjatovic.

Government Reduces Petroleum Prices

LD1403204591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Thursday cut the prices of petroleum products by 16.9 percent on average.

The retail price of one litre of lead-free petrol "super" will be ten dinars, that of regular 9.7 dinars, diesel d-2 and d-3 7.9 dinars, heating oil "el" 4.9 dinars and heating oil "els" 4.3 dinars. One German mark equals nine dinars.